

FACEBOOK USAGE IN THAILAND: THE PLURILINGUAL COMPETENCIES OF THAI
HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This study is concerned with gaining a better understanding of the way that language is being used in social media and in digitally mediated discourse. More specifically, the study examines how Thai high school students and teachers use Facebook, and how they interact with and negotiate across a diverse range of languages in their daily participation on the site. The study utilizes a mixed-methods design, and integrates findings from both quantitative and qualitative data sources. Quantitative data from questionnaires is first collected and analyzed; this data then becomes the primary tool for selecting participants for more in-depth, qualitative analyses of Facebook discourse data and participant interviews. Findings from both the qualitative and quantitative data are integrated in the presentation of the findings, and in the discussion of their relevance to the literature.

The study is simultaneously grounded in both constructivist and pragmatic paradigms (Mertens, 2010). Choices about the formulation of the mixed-methods design were primarily pragmatic in nature, and grounded in a belief that decisions related to methodology and study design ought to be guided by the specific research questions. However, the study is also firmly aligned with constructivist views of knowledge creation and the nature of reality. Facebook is, in many ways, a virtually constructed reality, and it is a reality that appears and is experienced differently for all users of the site. Because the study is concerned partly with understanding how users experience the site and participate in it, a constructivist view of this participation allows the analysis to proceed in and through the eyes of the users themselves.

From a theoretical point of view, the study relies on a social constructivist conceptualization of language in use (Lantolf, 2000), and frames language choices from plurilingual (Canagarajah, 2007, 2009) and multimodal (Jenkins, 2008; Kress, 2003) viewpoints.

A social constructivist viewpoint sees language use as an inherently social practice, with meaning emerging as a co-constructed property of any linguistic interaction. This view is essential for the study's framing of Facebook participation as rooted in a desire for social participation, and for discussions of meaning creation as a collaborative and interpretive process on the site. Participants in this study make use of diverse languages in their interactions, and meaning is created through these interactions in oftentimes complex mixtures of Chinese, Thai, and English. The plurilingual framework carried throughout much of this study allows for analysis of not only discrete language usage, but also the movement between and across languages. Finally, multimodality proves an essential analytic tool because so many of the interactions taking place on Facebook involve digital images, videos, audio, and textual representations of oral discourse features, often in the form of emoticons.

Findings from the study are broken into four subsections. The first section frames Facebook participation through the eyes of the participants, and it relies primarily on self-reported data from initial questionnaires. This section shows generally that females in the study tend to be heavier users of Facebook than males (approximately 3 hours per day versus 2 respectively), and that it is likely that students are over-reporting their Facebook usage for a variety of reasons. This section also highlights the fact that participants are accessing Facebook through a variety of networked devices, as well as making use of diverse languages on the site.

The second section looks at participation in a series of four "events" that took place, at least in part, on Facebook. These events are contrasted at the global and local levels, and it is shown that participants appear to use language differently on the site, depending on the nature of the event they are participating in. This section also highlights the fact that, as users of Facebook

seek full participation in these events, they are motivated to learn and make use of language, as well as other online skills.

In the third section, this study gives particular attention to language in use on Facebook, and it provides detailed support for the view that language use is both plurilingual and multimodal in nature. Through a series of discourse samples and interview excerpts, the study shows that participants often move freely and fluently across languages, and rely heavily on visual imagery to embed meaning.

The final section of the findings discusses the pedagogic potential of Facebook. In particular, this section looks at the struggles and successes of Thai teachers with regard to both their personal and professional use of Facebook. The two youngest teachers in the study take to Facebook quite naturally, and they view the site as both an appropriate and logical extension of classroom learning. From these two teachers however, it appears that students are less accepting of active and conscious usage of Facebook as a teaching tool. They tend to prefer casual, social interactions with their instructors, even in a range of languages. Overall, the study shows strong support for the view that teachers who are willing to disclose more of themselves in social media contexts can expect more positive interactions with students, and students who are more likely to engage with both the instructor and the course content (Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds, 2007, 2009).

The primary educational implications to draw from this study relate both to how language is being used on the site, as well as what instructors are willing and able to do in terms of their own participation on Facebook. From the findings, it appears that language instructors and curriculum designers need to begin to pay greater attention to the true social and linguistic requirements for full participation in today's globalized world. Instruction needs to move beyond

the view of languages as discrete and separable entities and embrace the linguistic hybridity that is becoming increasingly a part of people's lives. Also, instructors need to continue to work and to explore new and creative ways of engaging with students via social media. This includes considerations of the multiple devices available to students, as well as the personal disclosure of information.

In terms of research, the present study highlights the need for much greater and more fully realized analyses of language use in social media. Individuals are spending sometimes more than four hours per day reading and writing on these sites, and yet researchers have only a very limited knowledge of what this language looks like in practice. If educators are going to enable students to become full and productive participants in 21st century society, they first need to understand the specific requirements of this participation.

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Chapter 1

Significance and Purpose of the Study

Globalization and emerging forms of socially networked interconnectivity continue to be driving forces that are shaping and reshaping 21st century culture in profoundly new ways. English is increasingly emerging as a lingua franca and as a key component of the social and cultural capital needed to negotiate translocal networks and participate fully in 21st century culture (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 2007). However, the Englishes that are developing and appearing across the world are neither uniform in nature, nor independent of local cultural and linguistic traditions (Pennycook, 2010). In fact, as Internet connectivity, online social networks, and various elements of popular culture continue to drive social interaction on a global scale, language practices are increasingly being viewed through the lenses of multimodality and plurilingualism (Canagarajah, 2007, 2009; Kress, 2003). A plurilingual view of language proficiency de-emphasizes languages as separable and discrete entities, and instead focuses attention on the individual's ability to move between and across languages in contextually appropriate ways (CEFR, 2001).

Access to quality language education is a key to both empowering individuals for full participation in 21st century culture, and enhancing a nation's global competitiveness. In attempting to provide sufficient English language training and support however, countries around the world are faced with a number of significant challenges. Firstly, many countries lack well-trained teachers or are unable to pay teachers well enough to provide incentives to continue. Secondly, language education curricula, particularly in developing countries, are often based on models that were established decades ago, when students' language needs were significantly different than they are today. Traditional language pedagogy has stressed rote memorization and

decontextualized language, leaving students unprepared for real world interactions that today are often taking place in Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) contexts. Finally, many countries are faced with significant challenges in terms of equity and access. For millions of people around the world, English language proficiency is seen as largely unattainable due to barriers of access in terms of financial and material resources. All of these challenges coalesce into a singular problem: *schools around the world are in many cases unable to provide sufficient and appropriate English language training to meet the needs of today's students.*

The present study draws on a range of theoretical orientations and is situated at the intersection of work on educational technology, technology enhanced literacy development, and Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL). The study makes use of theories of globalization and translocal flows of information (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2010; Lam, 2009) to describe the nature of online Social Networking Sites (SNSs), the information that users of these sites share, and the various mechanisms through which information and resources are shared. In particular, the present study considers the range and diversity of language use on SNSs, and the complex ways in which users are remixing and reshaping languages in use. Facebook (FB), as the primary example of SNSs in use today, is understood in this study as a single manifestation of broader global and participatory cultures that exist side-by-side with local cultural traditions. Literacy and literacy development are analyzed from a sociocultural perspective with an emphasis on the multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996) at work in socially networked online spaces, and the nature of the literacy practices at work in these spaces. The notion of multiliteracies refers to changes in the traditional, primarily print-based, understanding of literature. Technological advances are continuing to increase the channels of communication available for interaction, and individuals are increasingly being required to

negotiate literacies that are simultaneously visual, print-based, and digital in nature (New London Group, 1996). Finally, social constructivist theories of second language learning (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978) frame discussions of the specific, linguistic nature of student participation in FB and their use of English on the site. In particular, the emerging framework of plurilingualism (Canagarajah, 2007, 2009) will be used to highlight the ways in which various components of the English language are being utilized side-by-side with other languages to form globalized discourse practices.

As English is continuing to gain prominence as a lingua franca for culture and commerce around the world, many countries are necessarily having to reflect on the role that English proficiency can and should play in their societies. Countries with significant populations of non-English speakers face a number of dilemmas. Firstly, they must determine the role that English is to play moving forward into the 21st century. The complexity of this decision however, is tied in many cases to colonial legacies of suppression and the silencing of native cultures and voices (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 2007). In the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) context for example, countries like Singapore have in many ways relatively advanced English language curriculums in place, and they are able to conduct a good deal of public school education in English (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009; Goswami, 2003). This is true in large part due to Singapore's colonial ties to Great Britain and the legacies of the British educational system. Contrast this situation with countries such as Thailand, that have remained proudly independent throughout their histories, but now face the reality of having to compete with Singapore and other countries in a globalized society that has given prominence to English, and built English language skills into social and cultural capital.

The European Union has attempted to address the role of English in its various member nations by downplaying the emphasis on English as a discrete skill. Instead, the EU has developed curricula that seek to build plurilingual competence for its citizens. In so doing, they deemphasize English, French, or German as discrete skills and instead focus on the ability of an individual to move between and across languages, making use of various lexical, syntactic, and socio-pragmatic features of diverse languages as needed within a given discourse (CEFR, 2001).

A second but related problem, particularly in Southeast Asia, has to do with existing infrastructure and the allocation of available educational resources. A country like Thailand faces many challenges in this regard. As its overall English language proficiency is relatively lower than many neighboring countries (EF Index, 2011), Thailand has made the strategic decision to prioritize English language teaching across the country (Hodal, 2012). This has meant that the distribution of educational resources has been weighted toward English language training, but at the expense of other core components of the national curriculum. Another challenge centers around the availability of trained and qualified teachers to teach English in schools. It takes time to build sufficient capacity to train large numbers of students and many developing countries, if they are to remain competitive, simply do not have that time.

The challenges faced in rural contexts are particularly problematic in developing countries with limited resources and education infrastructure. Some of these issues are highlighted well by Draper (2012) in his discussion of the Isaan community of Northeastern Thailand. Draper found that self-reported English proficiency was quite low, and that communities in general tended to have little regard for English as a viable skill. Outside of strictly academic contexts, the use of English was extremely limited. In many ways, Draper's

article highlights the disconnect between urban and rural contexts in Thailand, and the imbalanced allocation of resources across the nation.

The precise nature of the foreign language curriculum is also a concern for many countries today. English has traditionally been taught, when it has been taught at all, as a foreign language. The focus for the most part has been on reading and translation with relatively little focus on written and oral production of the language (Kirkpatrick, 2007). English has often been taught in decontextualized settings that have lacked an emphasis on communication in authentic contexts. Curricula of this type have primarily been based on grammar-translations methods, with the understanding that foreign languages would not actually need be spoken but simply translated and analyzed. The world has shifted dramatically however, and it is now much more likely that students in developing countries will be faced with the task of authentic English communication, be it in face-to-face or computer mediated contexts. It is also increasingly the case that participants in 21st century culture will need the ability to move freely from one language to another, and to mix and match elements of diverse languages to fit the discourse context at hand.

Finally, as mentioned above, there is the concern of equity and access to resources and training. In the Thai context, private schools in larger cities like Bangkok have the resources at their disposal to train teachers, update curricula, and modernize methods of instruction (Kirkpatrick, 2012). This is not happening nearly as quickly in the almost 30,000 public schools around the country that train the vast majority of Thai youth. This widening education gap only further entrenches the divide between the “haves” and “have-nots” in Thailand, and helps to ensure that the divide will continue. Draper (2012) is particularly concerned with the allocation of government resources more equitably. Importantly however, he also argues for “increased

school autonomy in the areas of budget management and teaching content” (p. 802). Nationally mandated curricula often challenge local school districts and tend to ignore the community and context at the expense of standardization at the national level.

In conclusion then, the scope of the problem is vast. Developing countries across the world face difficult decisions about the role that English will play in their curricula. Countries that decide to foreground English language training face a great many challenges. These range from pragmatic issues like the numbers of qualified and trained teachers, to difficult critical concerns embedded in legacies of colonialism and independence. The specific problem statement for this study can be summarized as follows:

Globalization, as one of the primary driving forces of the 21st century, is continuing to push the English language into the lives of individuals all across the world. English does not exist in isolation however, and in many cases the language is being reshaped and transformed across diverse contexts. English proficiency now functions as social and linguistic capital for many young people today, and components of English are finding their way into the discourse practices of people all across the globe. Many schools in the developing world however, are, for a variety of reasons, unable to meet the English language training needs of their students. Similarly, many language curricula at the national level are ignoring local contexts and failing to address the complex, plurilingual competencies that are now required for full participation in 21st century culture.

This problem needs to be understood in the context of the massive global demand for individuals proficient in the English language and skilled in their abilities to move between and across diverse languages as needed. Even when looking only at the context of ASEAN and its 10 member countries, it is possible to see how globalization is driving an ever-expanding need for English proficiency in a range of contexts. The ASEAN 2015 Roadmap (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009) has the clearly stated intentions of making English the working language of the community in the next three years, and allowing freedom of movement across borders for citizens of member nations. The implications of this are profound. For example, citizens of Myanmar will be able to move, with relative freedom and ease, to work in Thailand and

Singapore, given that they possess the necessary skills and training appropriate for their profession. The globalized workplace will become much more competitive and countries and citizens must be prepared for the role of English proficiency as a form of linguistic and social capital in these emerging marketplaces. And, although ASEAN has designated English as their official “working language,” it needs to be understood that the increased movements of peoples and cultures throughout the region will continue to drive the emergence of diverse sociolinguistic contexts. Invariably, as Thais increasingly find themselves sharing offices with individuals from Singapore or Cambodia, their discourse communities will evolve accordingly. Languages will become intermixed, and meaning will need to be negotiated across a range of sociocultural and linguistic contexts.

So the demand for English proficiency is great, in Asia and across the world, but the problems mentioned above are also significant. A number of solutions have been proposed to deal with these problems and these have ranged from increasing educational budgets, to better teacher training programs, to providing greater integration of English language teaching into core curricula (Draper, 2012; Hodal, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2012). These are, for the most part, top-down solutions however, imposed by governments and educational organizations onto language learners and citizens. As computers and cell phones have increasingly made their way into the lives of so many young people around the world, some alternative approaches to language education have begun to emerge. For the most part, these have made use of the Internet and its power to connect individuals to one another irrespective of time and space. Some language learning websites for example, have recently been developed to specifically take advantage of the “social web” and its capacity to network participants across cultural, linguistic, and geographic boundaries (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Stevenson & Liu, 2010).

In fact, a single SNS already exists that claims over one billion users worldwide. This site is FB and its users are active across the world. The potential for FB to function as a platform for language learning has been little studied but the possibilities are clear. FB has developed a presence in almost every country of the world, and it is currently available in over 70 languages and the dominant language of use on FB is clearly English, which accounts for over 70% of FB interaction (“Facebook,” 2012).

The use of SNSs for language learning also makes clear sense in light of social constructivist theories about second language learning and development. These theories take as their starting point a belief that efficient language learning needs to be grounded in actual use of the language and mediated through meaningful and authentic interactions with others in a social context (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978). FB would appear to have the potential to facilitate language learning in this way. It also offers a uniquely autonomous and user-generated space, allowing a great deal of agency on the part of the learner to control interactions and build social networks to facilitate language learning and use.

Given the nature of the problem stated above, this present research was initially concerned primarily with gaining a better understanding of the role that English is playing in social media participation for students and teachers in Thailand. As I have discovered throughout the course of this study however, English use itself is only a single component of the complex, plurilingual and multimodal discourse that participants are engaging in on FB. In this study I have tried to explore not only the way that English is being used, but also the way that specific features of the language are being borrowed and ultimately recast for new and creative purposes. If educators and researchers wish to make forward-thinking decisions about future directions for foreign language curricula, they first need to understand the specific nature of language in use.

This means moving beyond simple discussions of the number of hours dedicated to English versus Chinese instruction each week. Instead, it means engaging with difficult questions about how people are *using language*, and the types of linguistic competence necessary for participation in today's globalized society.

Governments within the ASEAN region do need to reallocate budgetary and human resources to support language education for young people, and they do need to modernize language learning curricula, but they need to do this with careful consideration for the needs of their twenty-first century citizens. Before making sweeping educational and curricular reform at the national level, I argue that countries need to better understand authentic language in use today. English is of course going to be part of this discussion, but the emerging reality in the global context is one of linguistic hybridity and plurilingual competence. In order to prepare citizens for full participation in our globalized society, language-training programs need to be built around realistic data highlighting the plurilingual and multimodal patterns of language use today. The present study aims to provide a piece of this data. The specific purpose for this study is summarized here.

To explore how Thai high school students and their teachers participate in Facebook and use language on the site

The purpose is necessarily open to being operationalized in a variety of ways depending on the nature of the data itself and the emerging analyses as they progress forward. In particular, this purpose allows for a view of English both as a discrete language skill and as a component of discourses that are increasingly multimodal and plurilingual in nature.

In its original form, this research project had three distinct research questions. These have shifted and evolved somewhat throughout the course of the research, so here I would like to

explain the revision process to the research questions as an emergent phenomenon that continued throughout much of the study. The three original research questions are stated below.

1. How do Thai teachers and English language learners use Facebook?
2. What is the nature of the multilingual and multimodal discourse for Thai students and teachers on Facebook?
3. What is the nature of the Thai teachers' and students' use of English on Facebook?

The revised versions of these questions are given next.

1. How do Thai high school students and teachers use Facebook?
2. What is the nature of the plurilingual and multimodal discourse for Thai high school students and teachers on Facebook?
3. How are Thai teachers making pedagogical use of Facebook as a platform for language instruction?

For the first question, the use of “English language learners” proved to be inconsistent with the literature base. In related literature, the term “English language learners” (ELLs) is used almost exclusively in specific reference to non-native speakers of English studying in K-12 contexts in the United States. As I was conducting research in an EFL context in Thailand, I wished to clearly differentiate my work from this line of research and chose to remove this language. The changes to the second research question were also the result of the back-and-forth process between my ongoing data analysis and the relevant literature. My preference for “plurilingual” in the final version of question two over “multilingual” will be explained in greater detail in the following chapter, but in my view this term better captures the specific nature of the Facebook discourse that I was observing in my data. The third question required the most serious revision. I chose to shift away from the discrete focus on “use of English” in this question. I did this for two reasons. First, in my research I am seeking to highlight competence across languages; a discrete focus on English use seemed to unnecessarily highlight English,

potentially at the expense of other languages. While it is true that English language instruction is increasingly being seen as a priority in nations like Thailand, the reality of language use I have seen in my study does not entirely reflect this. Also, as I began to look more carefully at the data from teacher participants in the study, I realized that there was often clear pedagogic intent on their part. I wanted a research question that would allow me to explore pedagogic intent from the point of view of the language teachers in the study. Overall, these revisions range from minor wording changes to more dramatic shifts in the direction of the research, but in my opinion these changes were a natural part of an organic research process.

In chapter two of this study I will provide an overview of the necessary literature to frame the study. Specifically, Chapter 2 will look at literature related to social media site participation, computer assisted language learning and plurilingual discourse analysis. In Chapter 3 I discuss the methodology for the study, and I provide an overview of the research site and context. Chapter 4 presents findings from the study with numerous data samples and excerpts, and finally in Chapter 5 I discuss these findings through the context of the relevant literature and provide a series of implications from the findings.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework and Review of Literature

The following literature review has been developed to provide context and support for the present study looking at FB usage in Thailand and the specific nature of the language use on that site. The review provides both a detailed analysis and synthesis of available literature as well as definitions of key terms and the relevant theoretical background for the study. It concludes with a summary of the significant gaps in the existing research base, and highlights how these gaps open up opportunities for the current study to contribute to the specific research base and enhance our understanding of language use on SNSs in today's society.

Social Networking Sites and Facebook

SNSs are a relatively new phenomenon, having only been in existence for about the last 15 years and in popular usage since around 2004 (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). SixDegrees.com is often credited as the first SNS and was founded in 1997. This site established certain key features like user profiles, viewable friend lists, and messaging support. SixDegrees.com is no longer functioning but in its place now stand literally hundreds of SNSs with a range of both generalized and specific interests. Specific feature sets vary by site but follow the tradition established by SixDegrees.com and almost always include transparent friend lists, detailed user profiles often with photos, and a built in capacity for both synchronous and a-synchronous messaging between members. There are now SNSs that target all types of specific interest groups (photographers, foreign language learners, dog-groomers, etc.) as well as sites like FB that network a diverse range of individuals all across the world.

FB was established in 2004 at Harvard University and originally limited only to Harvard students. As interest grew, the site quickly expanded to other universities around the U.S. and eventually to anyone over the age of 13 (“Facebook,” 2012). The features of FB are similar to those described above for SNSs generally. Common practices on FB include status updates, the sharing of photos and Internet links, commenting on posts by friends, and direct messaging to other users. There are currently close to 1 billion FB users worldwide and FB is by far the largest and most active SNS in use today. FB users now have over 70 languages to choose from and growth continues, particularly in the developing world and through mobile phone use (“Facebook,” 2012).

In July of 2012, FB claimed 955 million regular monthly users (Burns, 2012) meaning upwards of one in seven people in the world are active FB users. The opening day of the 2012 Olympics saw over one billion tweets sent globally (Waters, 2012). The exponential growth of these two communities alone is astounding but they are simply part of a broader trend toward the development of Web 2.0 technologies and increasing user participation online.

Danah boyd has written extensively about SNS use and participation (boyd, 2007; boyd, 2012; boyd & Ellison, 2007) and in her own words, her research focuses on “how young people use social media as part of their everyday practices” (boyd, n.d.). In terms of definitions, the work of boyd and Ellison (2007) is often cited. In their work, they list three key components of a SNS. They write SNSs:

Allow users to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection and, (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.” (2007, n.p.)

There are hundreds of SNSs globally and the cultures and participatory practices, which they facilitate, can vary significantly. As boyd and Ellison point out, these sites may coalesce around

mutual shared interests, first language preferences, shared racial or cultural identities, or many other features. A SNS like flickr.com for example is set up specifically to allow users to share collections of photography and encourages browsing of others' photos. Though it has specific technological affordances that allow for the hosting of huge numbers of photos, at its core it is a SNS site for photographers and those interested in viewing photographs and learning about photography.

Knobel and Lankshear (2008) note that SNSs have been looked at through a variety of theoretical lenses including network theory, signaling theory, human geography theory and others (p. 249). Significantly however, they point out that it is from within a literacy framework that SNSs have yet to be studied with any breadth or depth. Knobel and Lankshear (2008) are able to identify only one study taking a literacy perspective to look at SNS usage and participation.

The emergence of SNSs as an online phenomenon in many ways parallels the increasing influence of Web 2.0 technologies. For example, FB launched in 2004, the same year as the O'Reilly Media Group's inaugural Web 2.0 Conference. In boyd and Ellison's historical analysis however, this is not the beginning of the story. SixDegrees.com, often cited as the first SNS, actually launched in 1997. At that time however, there did not exist a critical mass of online participants with sufficiently robust friend networks to sustain the site and it closed in 2000. Other sites like Match.com and Classmates.com also have a history going back well over a decade. As Harrison and Thomas (2009) point out, the truth is "a history of SNSs, straddling both Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 emerges, and a number of phases can be identified" (p. 112).

Web 2.0 and Participatory Culture Online

As a concept, Web 2.0 is most easily understood in contrast to earlier iterations of the World Wide Web. Web 1.0 technologies were about the end user passively receiving content, much the way they would from a newspaper or magazine. Web 2.0 technologies enable user participation and allow the users themselves to create content online. Wikipedia is generally considered to be a prime example of Web 2.0 at work. All Wikipedia content is user-generated and edited; the end users are simultaneously the producers of the content as well. FB and other SNSs are also considered to be examples of Web 2.0. FB itself provides little in the way of actual content, their infrastructure is designed only to facilitate connections between users and allow for the sharing of information online.

Tim O'Reilly and the O'Reilly media group (2005) are generally credited with bringing the concept of Web 2.0 into the mainstream. The term originated as a way to theorize broad changes that were taking place in the way that users of the World Wide Web were participating in and creating content online. Given its ubiquity today across a broad range of discourses, it is perhaps unsurprising that Web 2.0 as a term has a variety of competing definitions (Conole & Alevizou, 2010; Lomicka & Lord, 2009; O'Reilly, 2005; Wang & Vasquez, 2012; Zourou, 2012). Conole and Alevizou (2010), for example, state that there is general agreement that the term applies to “a wide set of functional characteristics [that] not only point to increased opportunities for publication, but also encourage and are supportive of user participation” (p. 9). They also note that related terms such as “the read and write web” and “the social web” hint at the broad shift toward user participation and authorship inherent in the term Web 2.0. Zourou (2012), on the other hand, offers a much narrower definition. She writes, “Web 2.0 is not an

equivalent to the social web . . . Web 2.0 is therefore taken to mean (only) the technological platforms enabling social media applications to evolve” (p. 3).

Perhaps an easier way to understand Web 2.0 as a concept is to look at what it evolved from (i.e., Web 1.0). For Stevenson and Liu (2010), the contrast with the first iteration of the World Wide Web helps bring into clear focus what is being enabled through the adoption of Web 2.0 technologies. In Web 1.0 contexts, a high barrier to participation existed that prevented readers and viewers from contributing significantly to content creation or dissemination. One of the primary transformations to take place online in the last decade has been the reduced need for technological expertise of users. Blogs, wikis, and social networking platforms like FB and Twitter allow users to contribute to a broad base of knowledge and to freely create, share, and remix content (Stevensen & Liu, 2010). Though there remains debate about the exact definition of the term Web 2.0, with some seeing it now as nothing more than an overhyped, media-friendly buzzword (Lee, 2006), it is clear that a profound shift has taken place in Internet participation just in the last decade. Wang and Vasquez (2012) summarize this most clearly. They write, “the shift from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 has been remarkable. People do not merely read and retrieve information, but also create and share information. Indeed Web 2.0 technologies exploit the participatory potential of the Web” (p. 412). In fact, it is this participatory component of Web 2.0 technologies that has led some to refer to this as the “interactive web” or the “participatory web.”

In the emerging context of Web 2.0 culture, new practices for online participation are developing. Jenkins (2008) has referred to this culture and its associated practices as a participatory culture. He defined a participatory culture as,

A culture with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one’s creations, and some type of informal mentorship

whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices. A participatory culture is also one in which members believe their contributions matter, and feel some degree of social connection with one another. (p. 3)

Web 2.0 technologies are invariably a central component of the type of participatory culture that Jenkins envisions. In particular, barriers to user participation have fallen away, and SNSs have facilitated the creation and sharing of content in direct and immediate ways.

In the context of education, Web 2.0 technologies and a culture of participation have the potential to foster engagement and autonomy for learners (Conole and Alevizou, 2010; Jenkins, 2008; Zourou, 2012). As Conole and Alevizou (2010) have written,

There seems to be a tantalizing alignment between the affordances of digitally networked media (the focus on the user-generated content, the emphasis on communication and collective collaboration) and the fundamentals of what is perceived to be good pedagogy (socio-constructivist approaches, personalized and experiential learning). (p. 10)

It also seems evident that the use of Web 2.0 tools can provide teachers with another way to reach and engage with the current generation of students who are, in many cases, already fully fluent with and immersed in these environments (Stevensen & Liu, 2010).

Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL)

There is a significant body of CALL research and serious efforts have been made to define a unifying “theory of CALL” to bring the field together. However, there are also contentious debates about the degree to which CALL is even a relevant term given the ubiquity of computers in the lives of many individuals. Though many CALL researchers have been involved for the last 20 years in looking specifically at how language gets used in computer mediated environments, the field of research is still somewhat fragmented and the theories and methods employed are diverse.

Mark Warschauer's work has been central to the development of CALL as a necessarily autonomous field of study since the late 1980s. In his view, the history of CALL has been tied closely to the history and development of language teaching pedagogy over the previous 50 years (Warschauer, 1996). What he terms behavioristic CALL began in the mid 1960s with the use of large mainframe computers for drill work and repetition in language teaching. As technology expanded and personal computers became the norm, CALL entered a communicative phase, aligning itself with more communicative approaches to language learning and teaching of late 1980s. Larsen-Freeman (2000) ties the development of communicative language teaching to work by Dell Hymes from the early 1970s, focusing on a need for communicative competence in language development. Hymes (1966) originally developed the notion of communicative competence in response to Chomsky's distinction between linguistic competence and performance. Hymes and others felt that Chomsky's model insufficiently dealt with the social and strategic competence required of language users (Canale & Swain, 1980). According to Hymes (1966), communicative competence combines knowledge about the various linguistic features of a language with knowledge of the socially and pragmatically appropriate contexts for their use. Larsen-Freeman notes that communicative approaches foreground the need for communicative competence and at the same time recognize the fundamental relationship between language and communication (p. 121). In this phase the first publicly distributed CALL software was made available which, in turn, increased the potential for what has come to be termed learner autonomy. The focus on the autonomy of the individual learner derives from early work by Holec (1981) in which he defined autonomy as "the ability to take charge of one's own learning" (p. 3) and emerged simultaneously with the development of the increased focus on communicative language learning. The latest phase of CALL, often termed the integrative phase,

lines up with the development of the Internet as a means of communication and the multi-modal integration of text, sound and images that has become commonplace online. In terms of language teaching pedagogy, integrative CALL is grounded more in social constructivist theories of education. Constructivist theories derive from an epistemological view that reality is not a fixed construct, but rather an interpretation, an interpretation constructed by individuals through their social interactions with one another and the world around them. Blake, in his book, *Brave New Digital Classroom: Technology and Foreign Language Learning*, provides the following chart (2008, p. 54), summarizing his view of the various stages of CALL development.

Table 1

Stages of CALL Development

Stages	1970's–1980's structural call	1980's–1990's communicative CALL	Twenty-first century integrative CALL
Technology	Mainframe	PCs	Multimedia and internet
Teaching paradigm	Grammar translation Audio lingual	Communicative	Content-based
View of language	Structural	Cognitive	Sociocognitive
Principal use of computers	Drill and practice	Communicative exercises	Authentic discourse
Principal objective	Accuracy	Fluency	Agency

From a pedagogical perspective, social constructivism theorizes an active role for the learner as co-participant in the construction of new knowledge. Knowledge construction is social in that it emerges through interaction with others and also through the unique interplay between one's background knowledge and new sets of experiences. Blake's description is important however, as it demonstrates the relationship between integrative CALL and the objectives of allowing individuals to use authentic discourse to achieve agency through the use of technology.

The above mentioned timelines may seem to create a picture of a unified field of study but CALL is not without controversies, and central issues range from the consideration of the actual relevance of the term CALL itself to the appropriate theoretical grounding for the field. Richard Kern, in his 2006 review of CALL literature and research highlighted these issues and others. He draws on work from both Warschauer (2001) and Bax (2003), to point out that the “computer as tool” model is rapidly being replaced by a new paradigm where technology is being seamlessly integrated into both life and pedagogy. He points out that the increasing ubiquity of various forms of communicative technology may be rendering the concept of CALL obsolete. Kern’s literature review cites Warschauer in his now often quoted remark,

The truly powerful technologies are so integrated as to be invisible. We have no BALL (Book Assisted Language Learning) and no PALL (Pen Assisted Language Learning) . . . when we have no CALL, computers will have taken their place as a natural and powerful part of the language learning process. (Warschauer, 1999, n.p.)

Kern’s (2006) review also highlights the work of Carol Chapelle who has written at length about the theoretical grounding of CALL research. She notes a trend in CALL research over the previous decade towards a greater focus on the interactionist approach, often grounded in social constructivist theory (Chapelle, 2005). The interactionist approach sees language learning as a developmental process grounded in ongoing social interactions. These continued interactions, over a period of time, will lead language users to refine their understanding of the language in use (Peregoy & Boyle, 2012). Kern however, criticizes an overtly interactionist approach as too limiting in CALL, and encourages a broadening of the theoretical framework to include sociocultural theory, cognitive psychology, and semiotics. With respect to sociocultural theory, Kern is looking for research that understands that learning is more than a cognitive or interactive process. Sociocultural views contextualize all learning as embedded within unique social and cultural spaces (Lantolf, 2000) and analyses conducted from within this theoretical

frame will necessarily take into account the broader, social and cultural aspects of CALL. Kern would also have the field incorporate more work rooted in semiotics or the study of signs and symbols of representation. Here the work of Kress (2003) is most well known. Kress considers his work to be that of social semiotics, the study of how meaning is encoded and interpreted within specific social contexts. This work is potentially of particular relevance within the field of CALL as the tools for encoding meaning (keyboards, smartphones, voice inputs, etc.) are continuously driving new forms of symbolic representation, as evidenced through the now widespread use of emoticons. Kitade's (2000) review of theories of CMC agreed in general terms with Kern, noting a strong current in CMC research framing studies of interaction in terms of Vygotskian style social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978). Kitade also points out a trend towards research into collaborative learning environments in CMC, again rooted in theories of the social construction of knowledge. Collaborative learning environments are those spaces that leverage Vygotsky's view of learning as a social practice, facilitated through interactions with slightly more proficient peers. Kitade concludes by pointing towards a need for greater emphasis on empirical data, stating, "While some empirical studies of CMC have been carried out . . . there is still a pressing need for descriptive and empirical research on computer mediated interaction, especially the use of CMC in L2 learning application" (2000, p. 162).

Lamy and Hampel in their book, *Online Communication in Language Learning and Teaching* (2007), review seven meta-studies of CALL related research over the previous 30 years. Their review highlights the divergent research trends that exist in the field. One of the meta-evaluations (Hubbard, 2005) they reviewed for example, criticizes researchers for reporting projects involving small numbers of untrained learners doing the task for the first time (Lamy & Hampel, 2007). Hubbard's meta-study, along with another by Hassan et al. (2005), both

recommend larger scale studies specifically designed to test the impact of a language teaching or learning intervention against a control group. Another meta-study however, takes something of the opposite view. Bax (2003) argues that studies generally need to take a smaller scale and more qualitative or ethnographic approach, arguing that human-to-human interaction in computer mediated discourse environments may be impacted by a wide ranging and diverse number of variables (Lamy & Hampel, 2007).

Theorizing Literacy Development through Technology

The terms *literacy* and *technology* require detailed consideration. In much academic literature, attempts to define *literacy* foreground a kind of broadening or expanding set of definitions for the term (Blake, 2008; Gee, 1999; Knobel & Lankshear, 2006; Kress, 2003; Reinking et al., 1998; Warschauer, 2001). Gee highlights the “social turn” in literacy studies, with its associated shift away from understandings of literacy development as a purely cognitive act and towards a broader definition of literacy as a socially situated set of practices. As views of literacy have expanded, the field of study has also become increasingly cross disciplinary (Reinking, 1998). Analyses of digital texts in particular, which are more likely to make use of multimedia resources, have come to rely more heavily on notions of social semiotics and multimodality in their theoretical framings (Kress, 2003).

The work of Knobel and Lankshear (2003, 2008) is of particular relevance when defining literacy in relationship to technological change. They refer to two distinct uses of the word “new” as it relates to literacies. Their first sense, which they term the “paradigmatic” conceptualization of new, relates to the New Literacy Studies (NLS) tradition (Gee, 1999; Street, 1986) and the broad reconceptualization of literacy as a social phenomenon. Their second

understanding, and the one they seek to highlight in their own work, is labeled the “ontological” sense of the term new. In their own words, the ontological sense “refers to practices that are mediated by post-typographic forms of texts . . . for example, screens and pixels rather than paper and type, digital code rather than material print” (2006, p. 25). Finally, Coiro et al. (2010) prefer to understand literacy in its contemporary form as inherently deictic in nature, that is, the term itself can only be defined and understood when the specific contexts for its use and development are taken into account. Thus, in their view, there exist a plurality of literacies at work in differing sociocultural contexts.

Thorne and Black (2007) discuss the NLS work and conclude that it has pushed literacy development research in profoundly new directions over the last decade, giving rise to “current understandings of literacy and language learning as socially and culturally situated, shaped by context, and mediated by various tools and technologies” (p. 143). The work of the NLS has been especially influential in studies of bilingualism and biliteracy development, particularly since it has allowed for scholars to reinterpret notions of culture, context, and identity as transitory and constantly in-flux. Decisions about cultural and linguistic affiliations have profound impacts on the shaping of one’s identity, and the Internet has allowed young people in particular a more agentive and empowering role in these decisions. Thorne and Black have also reviewed work on *remixing*, the process of altering, reshaping, and combining cultural artifacts to create something unique and new (Knobel & Lankshear, 2008; Pennycook, 2010). For example, in a three-year ethnographic study, Black (2009, 2008) showed how English language learners in the U.S. participated in online fan-fiction sites and remixed and reformulated various artifacts of popular culture (movies, anime, music) creating hybridized blends with complex story lines drawn from a range of genres. Similarly, Pennycook (2010) in a chapter on globalism

and popular culture, looks at the flow of popular culture across the globe as he works through a dichotomy between the global and the local. His focus is on hybridity and on the emergent and transitory properties of popular culture, particularly Francophone hip-hop culture. For Pennycook, hybridity represents a unique form of mixture whereby the final product is at once something new but at the same time clearly composed of its constituent parts. Pennycook views the remixing of Francophone hip-hop music as a sophisticated, multilingual and multicultural mashup that embodies the new normal of global hybridity.

Along similar lines, Lam's work (2000, 2004, 2009) has focused on how young language learners in the U.S. often form complex, transnational social affiliations online. In her 2009 case study of a Chinese born adolescent immigrant to the U.S., Lam shows how the woman was able to form diverse "literate repertoires that would enable her to thrive in multiple linguistic communities across countries and mobilize resources within those communities" (p. 377). In her 2004 study, Lam detailed how two young Chinese emigrants participated in online chat-room discourse and developed a hybridized form of English and pinyin (Romanized Chinese). Lam linked this remixing of the two languages to a desire to express their bilingual and bicultural identities and form ties within a community of individuals with similar literate repertoires at their disposal.

In their analysis of digital literacy practices in social networking spaces, Knobel and Lankshear (2010) work from a particular definition of literacies as "socially recognized ways of generating, communicating and negotiating meaningful content as member of Discourses through the medium of encoded texts" (p. 249). Here they use Discourses (with a capital D) following the work of Gee (1999) to distinguish between two forms of discourse. For Gee, the term Discourse (with a capital D) is used in reference to the broader, societal level Discourses,

whereas discourse (with a small d) is used to refer to individual bits of language in use. In their analysis, Knobel and Lankshear draw heavily on the work of Scribner and Cole (1981) to deconstruct their own definition of literacies in great detail and in particular to highlight literacies as social practices bounded within Discourses. In terms of digital literacies and Web 2.0 technologies, Knobel and Lankshear point to the continuous evolution of the systems in place for encoding meaning in texts. The symbolic and representational systems used for example, in the design of a FB profile page, are increasingly sophisticated and complex. They draw, of course, on traditional alphabetic, print literacy, but also frequently on various audio, visual, spatial, and technological literacies as well. To be a literate and sophisticated participant in a discourse of this nature requires much more than traditional, alphabetic literacy.

This shift towards a discussion of multiple and contextually specific literacies has been applied to L2 literacy development as well. Many scholars (Blake, 2008; Gee, 2004; Kress, 2003) have begun to talk about the diverse, multilingual and multisemiotic resources available to L2 learners in their development of multiple literacies. This has led a number of researchers to begin to investigate the range of literacy practices that L2 learners engage in, particularly in online contexts (Black, 2009; Chun, 2009; Lam, 2001, 2009).

A second term of course that needs consideration is *technology*. At what point does an innovative tool become sufficiently ubiquitous so as to no longer be considered a technology? Clearly, what counts as “technology” to one individual in one context may not be similarly perceived by others in other contexts. Few people today would consider books an innovative technology but the printing press was a technological revolution that transformed print literacy around the world. Technology simply cannot be objectively defined nor should it be perceived as monolithic in nature (Blake, 2008).

It is also important to highlight the relationship between various forms of technology and theories of literacy development and second language acquisition. As Blake (2008) points out, the tendency to elevate technology to the level of theory is problematic. Technology, Blake writes, is “theoretically and methodologically neutral. But how technology is used—its particular culture and practice, is not neutral” (p. 11). Discussions of the affordances and constraints offered by various technologies need to be embedded within broader theoretical framings of language learning and literacy development processes. The “technology as panacea” myth that exists in the background of some discussions of educational technology is largely the result of failures to properly consider technologies in the context of established theoretical models of literacy development.

Authors like Street (1986) laid much of the theoretical groundwork for the need to see literacy practices as contextualized within sociocultural and historical spaces. In computer mediated communicative environments we also have to think about the role of the medium itself. Jenkins (2008) noted that, in contexts where participation is mediated by and through various forms of computer technology, it is not the channel of communication itself that matters but the nature of the participation. Though a medium provides certain affordances and constraints on the nature of the participation, users will often go to great lengths to expand and modify the channels of communication available to them. Thus, a detailed analysis of the literacy practices available to participants of SNSs will also have to address the types of affordances and constraints offered by the medium.

Educational Technology and Second Language Learning

A number of meta-reviews have been conducted in the previous 10 years that have reviewed the relationship between second language literacy development and educational

technology use. Hubbard (2005) reviewed 78 articles over a 5-year period from 2000 to 2004. His primary finding through this review was that the research base itself was problematic, particularly in terms of research design and methodology. He found, for example, that studies tended to rely on data drawn from limited sample sizes and qualitative work often did not sufficiently contextualize analyses. Perhaps more significantly, his review also showed that many research subjects were inappropriately trained in their use of the various educational technologies being considered, and that time on task was often insufficient to allow users to master the technology before being asked to demonstrate their knowledge. Hubbard concluded that research needed to focus less on novice users of technology, collect data from diverse sources, and conduct studies that take place over a longer period of time.

In 2003, Zhao reviewed literature on Information Communication Technology (ICT) in language education. His selection criteria involved limiting his search to five specific journals and including only articles that empirically tested the facilitative effect of a particular technology on measureable language improvement outcomes. Similar to Hubbard's review, Zhao's meta-analysis concluded that there exists a lack of published empirical evidence on the effectiveness of ICT in language education. Zhao's review also highlighted two other significant facts. Firstly, all research articles included in his review were conducted on adult or college age learners. Second, the range of target languages under evaluation was limited. English, Spanish and French were the most frequently studied languages whereas other commonly taught languages were neglected in the literature. Zhao was also critical of the fact that many studies that he excluded from his analysis had failed to appropriately consider individuals' target language proficiency as a major variable in ICT's influence on language learning and development.

In their 2004 review of literature, Kern, Paige, and Warschauer refer to what they term the “second wave” of research into online language learning. This wave was associated with what Gee (1999) has referred to as a “social turn” in language and literacy research. Their review looks specifically at research conducted from within this “second wave” and draws on empirical studies published prior to 2004. In their view, recent research studies looking at online language learning show a distinctly sociocognitive influence and pay greater attention to the social and cultural contexts of learning. Similar to the field of literacy research more broadly, these authors note a related methodological shift in the field toward a greater role for qualitative and ethnographic research into online language learning. The shift described in their meta-analysis has also tended to bring culture itself and intercultural competence to the forefront. The authors explain that this shift “expands the focus beyond language learning to an emphasis on culture (i.e., intercultural competence, cultural learning, cultural literacy) [and] it expands the notion of context beyond the local (often institutional) setting to include broad social discourses” (p. 244). In terms of findings, they do not suggest that the computer mediated nature of online language learning necessarily sets it apart from face-to-face learning in any unique way. Rather, they argue that the affordances and constraints that are associated with this new learning medium “problematize some of our earlier notions of interaction, culture, identity, and literacy” (p. 254).

Finally, though not a meta-analysis of literature, Warschauer’s (2007) book *Laptops and Literacy* reports on a large-scale empirical study conducted in 10 school districts in California and Maine. His study looked specifically at schools where each child was given individual access to a laptop computer. With respect to reading, Warschauer reports that the laptops significantly increased the teachers’ abilities to scaffold instruction, particularly through their ability to show children how to access diverse semiotic resources online to aid in text

comprehension. His study also reports greater “epistemic engagement” or generally more engagement from students with the content material and with the learning process as a whole. In terms of writing development, the study notes that student writing became increasingly public, social, and iterative, generally showing greater evidence of collaboration throughout the writing process. Finally, Warschauer noted increases in technology-specific literacies like searching for and analyzing information online, and producing multimedia content.

On the other hand however, “laptop programs were not found to improve test scores or erase academic achievement gaps between students with low and high socioeconomic status” (p. 52). It is perhaps unsurprising that the one-to-one laptop programs did not directly increase student test scores. As Jenkins (2008) has pointed out, state mandated standardized tests have not been designed to measure many of the literacies that are developed in ICT contexts. The achievement gap question is more troubling, however, as it gets to the crucial issues of access and equity in technology integration in schools. As is the case with traditional print forms of literacy, children who successfully engage with and make meaning from their interactions with texts in schools are often those children who maintain similar literacy practices in the home. When tools and technologies are present in one context (the school) but not in another context (the home), the social and cultural gap between the two may be too great for some students to overcome, thus leading to frustration and disengagement.

In general then, a limited number of reviews have looked broadly at research on technology’s role in second language learning and literacy development. From these, as well as from the one-to-one laptop study, a number of general points can be made.

1. The research base is to some extent limited in terms of both breadth and depth. Hubbard’s (2005) meta-analysis seems to show this most clearly. Data collection and analysis methods appear limited in their diversity and sample sizes for quantitative studies are

often small. Qualitative work has tended to underreport contextual details and insufficiently support findings.

2. The majority of the research has been conducted on adult learners of English with comparatively less attention being paid to younger learners and learners of other languages. Warschauer's (2007) study targeted K-12 children but did not specifically look at English language learners in those schools.
3. When technology interventions were reviewed, they were often tested on novice users of that particular technology, often with insufficient training time to develop both confidence and competence with the technology in question.
4. Kern et al. (2004) highlight the increasing place of qualitative work in the research base broadly, as well the important emerging themes of culture learning and identity formulation.
5. The one-to-one laptop study showed a facilitative effect on both reading and writing in certain areas but this was not evidenced through increases in tests scores.
6. Equity and access are major concerns that have been relatively unaddressed in much of the literature, particularly work on adult language learners who tend to be affluent and college educated.

If there is a weakness in the meta-analysis and review literature, it has primarily to do with an over-emphasis on identifying studies that report specific, measureable gains in performance that can be linked to discrete technologies. Both Hubbard (2005) and Zhao (2003) raise this issue, and Zhao in particular narrowed his review dramatically by only targeting these studies. What reviews of this type miss is the shift in the field identified by Kern et al. (2004) toward more contextualized and nuanced analyses of technology's role in diverse social and cultural practices.

Plurilingualism as a Conceptual Framework for Studying Language Use

This study has chosen to rely heavily on the notion of plurilingualism as a conceptual and analytic framework for looking at language use in social media and specifically in the discourse presented from FB. As an emergent area of study, plurilingualism is being harnessed by researchers in studies of second language learning and acquisition (see, for example, the Fall

2013 Special Issue of TESOL Quarterly), as well as in sociolinguistics and critical applied linguistics (Canagarajah, 2007, 2009).

To understand the concept of plurilingualism, it must first be set apart from multilingualism. The Council of Europe and their Common European Framework (CEFR) has been the primary driver of the concept of plurilingualism and the notion was derived from the linguistic context of the European Union. The Common European Framework (2001) differentiates plurilingualism from multilingualism as follows:

Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society. *Multilingualism* may be attained by simply diversifying the languages on offer in a particular school or educational system, or by encouraging pupils to learn more than one foreign language, or reducing the dominant position of English in international communication. Beyond this, the *plurilingual approach* emphasizes the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. In different situations, a person can call flexibly upon different parts of this competence to achieve effective communication with a particular interlocutor. (CEFR, n.p.)

Similarly, Canagarajah's (2007, 2009) work has helped to push the notion of plurilingualism more into the mainstream, particularly with respect to the various plurilingual traditions coming from South Asia and India. In his review of literature, Canagarajah (2009) highlights five key characteristics that are central to most definitions of plurilingualism. The first of these is the notion of integrated competence and the viewpoint that languages themselves not be conceptualized discretely with differing sets of competencies for each. Instead, "what is emphasized is the repertoire—the way the different languages constitute an integrated competence" (p. 6). Second, he notes that levels of proficiency in various languages need not be equal to one another or necessarily advanced. Third, he defines competence as the ability to use

different languages for distinctive purposes. He also situates the concept of linguistic competence as a form of social practice, dependent at least in part on intercultural competence as well. Finally, Canagarajah believes that plurilingual competence is generally viewed as emerging autonomously through engagement and social practice as opposed to formal schooling (p. 6).

This notion of plurilingualism has had a significant impact on language learning curricula in Europe, where schools are seeking to deemphasize specific and discrete language proficiency (i.e., mastery of English or advanced proficiency in French) and instead focus on students' communicative competence across a range of linguistic and cultural contexts. Plurilingualism foregrounds a concern with context and highlights the fact that in authentic interactions, features of various languages often work together to facilitate meaning making. In the globalized context of the 21st century, where speakers of various and diverse first languages are often brought into interaction with one another online, plurilingualism makes sense as an analytic framework for looking at authentic language in use. This is not only proving true for the European Union Member Nations but we can also see evidence in Asia as well. As countries like Thailand are moving toward fuller economic and social integration through their membership in ASEAN, national curriculums are being forced to grapple with how best to prepare students for futures that will increasingly be intertwined across cultural, national, and linguistic boundaries.

Recent scholarship making use of plurilingualism has emerged in a number of studies. For example, Lin (2013) looks at the specific context of Hong Kong and discusses the challenges that educators have faced in countering the historical legacy of linguistic purism. Her study highlights the efforts of some educators to alter their curricula to make space for a range of plurilingual competencies in the classroom. Ellis (2013) studied the plurilingualism of ESL teachers working with adults in Australia. She provides evidence that monolingual teachers of

English tend to view the language learning process through the lenses of their personal experiences with language learning. Plurilingual teachers, on the other hand, are able to draw on their repertoires as diverse language users and their experiences moving across languages, and are thus more likely to see language use highly fluid and bounded by context. Lotherington (2013) provides a poststructuralist point of reference for plurilingual competence. She argues that language learning and education research has traditionally had an overreliance on dichotomies and concrete distinctions. The notions, for example of native versus non-native speaker, or monolingual versus bilingual are not sufficient to fully characterize language use in the today's globalized landscape. She argues for the creation of linguistic "third spaces" within classrooms and learner communities, spaces which allow languages users to be comfortable with and empowered in their language choices. This notion of a third space draws heavily on the work of Gutierrez (2008), who suggests that classrooms themselves can be conceptualized as unique spaces, where the different cultural worlds that students participate in are brought together to form something new.

Review of Key Studies

To date, very little empirical work has been published looking specifically at language learning and development on and through SNSs (Blattner & Lomicka, 2012; Zourou, 2012). Similarly, though user participation on FB has been talked about and theorized to some extent (Blattner & Fiori, 2009, 2011; boyd & Ellison, 2007; Schwartz, 2009), few empirical studies have specifically targeted FB, particularly in terms of pedagogical potential and implications. Though the numbers are small, the available studies do point to certain key themes in the

research and they also serve to highlight significant gaps that have yet to be filled in terms of researchable topics for study.

This review has uncovered 11 studies that have conducted empirical research on FB, or have looked at language learning on SNSs more generally. For the purposes of this review, these studies were subdivided into three categories as follows:

1. Empirical studies of language learning on SNSs other than FB
2. Empirical studies of FB not specific to language learning
3. Empirical studies of language learning on FB

Appendix A summarizes this data and provides information on the number and type of each of the studies in these three categories.

Empirical studies of language learning on SNSs other than FB. Two studies were identified that looked at language learning possibilities on SNSs other than FB. The first of these (Harrison & Thomas, 2009) looked at Livemocha.com. This is a foreign language-learning site with both paid and free options. It allows users to make connections to one another through profiles that specifically highlight the languages that members can read and write, and the languages that they are interested in learning. Participants can then engage in live audio and text chat, as well as group chat options for larger communities of learners. The site also has extensive tutoring modules available as part of the paid option for the site and writing can be submitted and peer reviewed by native speakers of the target language. The study looked at six postgraduate students in an international university in Japan and reported qualitative data from observations of the students' participation in the site as well as classroom presentations of their experiences.

Harrison and Thomas ground their analysis in social constructivist learning theory and their findings relate specifically to the friendship and identity management as opposed to specific

language learning outcomes. One of their primary findings was that the site lacked sophisticated mechanisms for controlling the amount of exposure individuals could provide with their profiles. All participants chose to use pseudonyms on the site because they did not feel comfortable and confident with the privacy options. In fact, they found that “evidence of users deliberately inputting false information about themselves, such as country of origin and native languages spoken, was the norm” (p. 118). They also noted that participants expressed strong preferences for language learning features over social networking features on the site. In their interviews with participants, they showed that users of Livemocha appreciated the language learning content that was provided in the form of exercises and worksheets, but participants were less interested in the socially interactive features of the site. They found this to be a contradiction of boyd and Ellison (2007) and their contention that SNSs functioned primarily to uphold and support pre-established friend networks.

In the second study, Stevenson and Liu (2010) looked at three foreign language learning sites making use of Web 2.0 technologies. One of these was Livemocha; the other two were Babbel.com and Palabea.net. According to the authors, Palabea offers audio and video conferencing between users, as well as video lessons, podcasts, and links to information about local language schools. Babbel is limited to Spanish, English, German, French, and Italian (the site has since expanded its range of offerings to over 10 languages) and offers similar social networking features to Palabea and Livemocha. The first phase of the study consisted of an online survey completed anonymously by current users of Babbel. In the second phase, the researchers performed “usability testing” on each of the three sites. The testers were five graduate level students recruited from a large U.S. university. Two were from Taiwan and three were from the U.S. Usability tests for each site took between 60 and 90 minutes and were

conducted in a university lab specifically for the purpose of website usability testing. Each user was asked to perform a series of exploratory, closed-ended, and open-ended tasks within the sites.

Results of phase one of the study showed that Babbel users were least interested in the social networking features of the site and much more concerned with vocabulary training exercises and other traditional content. Most users were not formally enrolled in other language education classes and generally they expressed concern “about the use of the social network for dating purposes or other non-learning social interactions” (p. 248). The usability testing affirmed a preference for traditional content prior to social interactions with other users. It also highlighted the fact that users did not care for features of the site that reminded them of other, more mainstream SNSs, like FB or MySpace.

Overall, it seems a couple of points can be made drawing from both of these studies. Firstly, while users are interested in the possibility of linking with native-speakers for language learning purposes, they are cautious and wary of when it comes to the availability of controls for sharing personal content. Secondly, more traditional language learning content like vocabulary exercises, quizzes, and the availability of translation tools were generally more appealing to users than social networking features.

Empirical studies of FB not specific to language learning. In total, four studies reviewed here looked at FB participation. Two of these (Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds, 2007; 2009) were quite similar in nature. In the 2007 study, the authors looked at the relationship between teacher self-disclosure on FB and student motivation, affective learning, and classroom climate. The study was conducted with 133 undergraduate college students. Participants were shown the FB page of a graduate student instructor they did not know. The pages they viewed

were categorized as either high, medium, or low in terms of teacher self-disclosure. This meant that the type and nature of the photos, links and other content were manipulated in each of the three groups to show a teacher that displayed varying amounts of personal information and content on the FB page. Participants then responded to a 25 item bi-polar survey designed to measure the potential for motivation, affective learning, and classroom climate. The survey concluded with three open-ended questions about student perceptions of the teacher based on the FB disclosure.

To analyze data, the authors performed a “primary quantitative analysis” followed by a “secondary qualitative analysis.” The overall findings were quite clear. The “participants who accessed the FB website of a teacher high in self-disclosure anticipated higher levels of motivation and affective learning and a more positive classroom climate” (p. 1). Qualitative data supported these findings and also showed that students were possibly concerned that teacher use of FB could lower their overall credibility among students. This last finding is interesting because their follow up research (Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds, 2009) reported exactly the opposite. This study was almost identical to the first but this time measured perceived teacher credibility. They found that FB pages with higher teacher self-disclosure generated higher perceived credibility for the teacher in question. Taken together, their two studies seem to suggest that teacher disclosure on FB is, at the very least, not detrimental to student learning, and may actually have a facilitative impact on certain measures of student learning. One difficulty however is that neither of these studies looked at actual classroom settings. When students interact with a teacher on FB AND on a weekly basis in the classroom, the results could potentially be quite different.

The other two studies of FB are less specific to educational contexts. In probably one of the earliest academic studies of FB, Gross and Acquisti looked at privacy and information revelation on FB. Their study analyzed the profiles of over 4,500 students at a large U.S. university. Their demographic analysis showed that at that time the majority of FB profiles on the campus were from undergraduates, and approximately 60% were male. The overwhelming theme of their research was that users were personally identifying themselves on FB (89% of students were using their real names, not pseudonyms) and providing a great deal of personal information via a relatively open-sharing network. For example, 80% of FB profiles included identifiable or semi-identifiable personal photos, and the majority included phone numbers as well. This level of open sharing of information led the authors to conclude that, “the population of FB users we have studied is, by and large, quite oblivious, unconcerned, or just pragmatic about their personal privacy. Personal data is generously provided and limiting privacy settings are sparingly used” (n.p.).

In a somewhat later study, Tong, Van Der Heide, and Langwell (2008) examined the relationship between the number of friends displayed on a FB profile and measures of perceived extraversion and attractiveness. This work, based on a sample of 132 undergraduates at a large U.S. university, revealed some interesting demographic data in contrast to the previous work from Gross and Acquisti (2005). In Tong et al., 53% of the participants were female. They reported an average friend count of almost 400 and approximately 4.5 hours per day spent on FB. In a series of statistical analyses relating friend counts to perceived social/physical attractiveness and also extraversion, they found generally that “individuals who had too few friends or too many friends are perceived more negatively than those who have an optimally large number of friends” (p. 545).

Empirical studies of language learning on FB. Blattner and Lomicka's (2012) study looked at FB usage in an undergraduate French course in the U.S. Twenty-four students were in the U.S. class, which used FB in partnership with a corresponding group of English language learners in France. They set up a group FB page where they were able to socialize and participate in discussions around course themes. Students also used Twitter, email, and Skype in their correspondence. The study sought to investigate (a) how the students would react to using the SNS in the course, and (b) what students' perceptions were of FB usage for foreign language learning (p. 6). Data sources for the study consisted of student FB posts as well as pre and post surveys. The surveys highlighted differing usage patterns for educational and personal use of FB. The primary educational uses were participating in chats and belonging to groups whereas the primary personal uses were viewing and posting pictures and reading and writing wall posts.

By looking both at survey data as well as FB posts, the authors were able to reach a number of conclusions. First, students reacted positively to the use of FB in the language learning classroom and generally self-reported that the experience was beneficial for their language learning. Secondly FB postings produced a great deal of authentic language. Each FB specific topic contained between 20 and 26 posts and replies to posts ranged from 1-13 (p. 15).

As the authors state,

The students had to engage in authentic and meaningful exchanges, which are essential to develop communicate competence . . . In other words, the students discovered how FB can become a pedagogical tool in the context of foreign language classes and how they can exploit resources outside the classroom. (p. 16)

As a final recommendation, Blattner and Lomicka note that the current generation of students are comfortable using FB in their social lives and they call upon educators to find creative ways to apply Web 2.0 tools and SNSs to academic contexts.

Working with a similar group of intermediate level French language learners, Blattner and Fiori (2011) asked students to critically assess and evaluate a large number of FB postings in order for students to form their own hypotheses about socio-pragmatic language usage in online contexts. The student analyses targeted greetings and leave-taking language in FB posts. The primary finding from this study was that observation and awareness raising tasks could be instrumental for assisting students with the development of socio-pragmatic competence. They also found that tasks of this nature raised student confidence in terms of their capacity for independent and autonomous learning. With regard to FB, the study also highlights the sites potential role as a repository of authentic, contextualized language and as a platform not only for social interaction but also language learning and investigations into pragmatic aspects of language learning.

Mills (2011) reports a study theoretically grounded in the work of Lave and Wenger and the notion of situated learning or learning as embedded within a community of practice. Lave and Wenger (1991) defined communities of practice as communities where members collaboratively develop sets of practices, learn from interaction with other members, and are able to grow and develop. She uses this framework for her research looking at FB usage amongst 17 college undergraduates enrolled in a third-semester French course. The Mills study differs significantly from the others because in her work, students were asked to take on the role of a French or Francophone character living in an apartment block in Paris. Thus the FB project was embedded within a broader global simulation curriculum, a simulation where students “create a fictive yet culturally grounded world, assume the role of a self-developed character, and collaborate with fellow community members (p. 350). Data for the study consisted of all FB content as well as an end of semester survey with a variety of open-ended questions.

In her discussion, Mills organizes her results in terms of the three components of situated learning theory: joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and shared enterprise. Joint enterprise meant the collaborative participation in the global simulation. This simulation functioned to compliment the classroom-learning context and allowed students to “organize, interpret, and give coherence to their experiences” (p. 363) in a space where interaction was encouraged and supported. Mills viewed mutual engagement through problem solving, information requests, and collaboration. She claims that “Similar to SLA’s positioning of the language learner as a participating social agent in the language acquisition process, this FB project allowed learners to reconfigure standard communication patterns and transform relationships with knowledge and people” (p. 364). Finally, students were able to make use of a shared repertoire of cultural artifacts and mutual experiences to develop their own character’s identity and sense of belonging within the community. Scholars looking at L2 identity development (Lam, 2009; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000) have noted how the process can be seen as mediated through social interaction and embedded within communities of learners. Mills’ research exemplifies this process and shows how situated learning theory can be applied to FB participation for language learning.

Finally there is the work of Reinhardt and Zander (2011). This study draws from the work of Ochs (1993) and takes language socialization as its primary interpretive framework. Language socialization understands that language learning and culture learning are often parallel processes, and that the process of language learning should not be looked at in isolation from the process of being socialized into a different culture (Ochs, 1993). The pedagogical approach is based on the “bridging model” of L2 acquisition, where “students bring Internet mediated L2 texts and practices of their own interest into the classroom for analysis, with the goal of

developing critical language awareness” (p. 333). This model foregrounds a concern for student agency and choice, allowing for a high degree of authenticity to the activities.

In the study, 11 students enrolled in a university Intensive English Program in the U.S. were asked to participate in the FB project. Only six of the 11 students previously had FB profiles. Contrary to previously reviewed studies of language learning on FB, Reinhardt and Zander met with significant resistance to a number of their activities. They frame this resistance in terms of the tensions between varying discourses related to SNS use and language learning. FB participation did not align with many students’ notions of what language learning should look and feel like. Despite this, they also noted that throughout the semester most students came to use FB “to post photos of IEP gatherings, interact with new friends outside of class, and communicate with IEP instructors” (p. 338). In the view of the authors, these practices are “evidence of emerging, SNS mediated identities as speakers of EIL, practices we believe can be leveraged into formal instruction” (p. 338).

Mitchell (2012) studied the FB participation of seven ESL students studying English in an intensive program at a large American university. In her study she reports on qualitative data primarily from student interviews and “Facebook monitoring.” She conducted two sets of interviews with the student-participants and monitored their FB activity over the course of one month. As a researcher, she “friended” students on FB, and was thus able to view their comments and posts and general FB activity during the data collection phase of the study.

In her findings, Mitchell discusses the participants’ motivation to join the site as primarily social in nature. They were interested in FB because they knew many American students were using the site, and they saw it as a way to connect with friends in their home countries as well. Interestingly, six of the seven participants reported benefits related to English

language learning even though their initial motivation had primarily been social. Mitchell also found that FB as a site presented few if any roadblocks in terms of access by non-native speakers of English.

In terms of its analytic framework, the primary weakness of Mitchell's study is the exclusive reliance on English language use by participants. International students are invariably making use of, at minimum, both their L1 and L2 in their participation on the site. Without looking at how students make use of and develop their plurilingual resources, I think we are left with an incomplete picture of the students' FB usage. In designing the study, she made use of participants' English writing proficiency as "a reasonable indicator of their ability to participate in the textual environment of Facebook" (p. 474). In my view however, this is not entirely accurate. It privileges English competence unnecessarily, particularly given the fact that FB allows users to navigate and fully participate in the site in a wide range of languages.

Themes and Findings from the Literature Review

In summary then, a number of themes and findings can be highlighted from a review of these studies looking at SNS use and possibilities for language learning.

Privacy and self-disclosure on SNSs. Privacy and the sharing of personal information is an ongoing theme in the research on SNSs participation. Gross and Acquisti (2005) reviewed a large number of FB profiles and discovered that the majority of users were freely sharing personally identifiable information and failing to make use of privacy settings. This behavior can be contrasted with that seen in Harrison and Thomas (2009) as well as Stevenson and Liu (2010). In both of these studies, users were in some cases uncomfortable with language learning sites asking for too much information or not allowing controls for the revelation of personally

identifiable information. A number of explanations for the discrepancy are possible. It seems that users of FB are accustomed to viewing the site as a social networking tool and a space where the disclosure of limited personal information may be appropriate. It may also be the case that the 5 years that separate these studies have raised participant awareness about the need for attention to privacy settings and the sharing of personal information. Age may also be a factor. The vast majority of the 4000+ students in the Gross and Acquisti (2005) study were undergraduates whereas the other two studies were conducted with graduate students aged between 28 and 40.

Henry Jenkins has written at length about what he terms “The Ethics Challenge” with respect to new media literacies. The challenge comes from “The breakdown of traditional forms of professional training and socialization that might prepare young people for their increasingly public roles as media makers and community participants” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 3). Jenkins believes that educators need to be teaching the specific, critical skills necessary to enable students to make their own choices regarding participation in public spaces like FB. Given the concerns that are evident from the studies mentioned here, it would seem that Jenkins’ “Ethics Challenge” is quite relevant to questions of privacy and information disclosure on SNSs.

Interestingly, the undergraduate students featured in the two Mazer, Murphy, and Simmonds studies (2007, 2009) had overall more optimistic views of teachers who chose to disclose more on FB. Students reported that they expected the high-disclosure teachers to be more credible and they anticipated a more positive classroom climate and greater student motivation from these teachers. Taken together with the Gross and Acquisti (2005) study, it seems that university students, at least in the context of the U.S., have a general expectation of information revelation and self-disclosure on FB.

As Knobel and Lankshear (2010) have pointed out, multiple literacies and diverse modes

of representation are at work on FB. As such, FB can be understood as a discourse community with established social practices and “rules” for appropriate participation. When these rules are met, for example when teachers self-disclose information in ways students are comfortable with, then ideal conditions for social interaction and learning may be established. This is similar to the work of Tong et al. (2008) who found that there seemed to exist an “optimal friend count” on FB in terms of others’ perceptions of that individual’s social and physical attractiveness. All this information taken together suggests that educators and researchers need to work to fully understand FB as a discourse community before being able to take full advantages of its pedagogic potential.

Identity development. Boyd (2006) has discussed the notion of identity in virtual and online spaces, saying that online, “you have to write yourself into being” (n.p.). For boyd, young people today are continually putting themselves out there online, receiving feedback, and making adjustments to their sense of self and internal formulations of identity through participation in social media. In essence, identity is becoming more performative as expressions of self are increasingly taking place in public arenas like FB. These expressions of self are often dynamic and fluid constructions. Lam’s work (2009) has highlighted this trend as well, looking specifically at how multilingual and multicultural identities shift and move across virtual spaces.

Both the studies by Mills (2011) and Reinhardt and Zander (2011) have looked at issues of student identity formulation on FB. The Mills study asked students to create FB personas and interact in a diverse global simulation through that persona and in the target language of French. Mills’ theoretical framework was situated learning theory, a theory in which “identity is viewed as the intersection between the social and the individual” (p. 353). In this context the FB characters were “written into being” in and through their social interactions with each other and

with the textual artifacts available to them. These texts were multimodal in nature, drawing on photos, video clips, music, chat, and spatial orientation to craft presentations of self. Mills found strong evidence that students were making an effort to consistently and accurately represent their characters' identities across a range of modalities. The Reinhardt and Zander (2011) study was similarly framed using situated learning theory and also looked at emergent identities as mediated through SNS participation. In their identification of common FB practices (photo sharing, communicating with classmates and instructors) Reinhardt and Zander found evidence of emergent identities shaped both through FB participation and through their membership in a community of English language learners in the U.S. Looking together at the two studies, identity formulations on FB appear fluid and transitory. They are not only mediated through the multimodal and diverse semiotic resources available to FB users, but also through the social interaction that FB enables.

Pedagogic potential of Facebook. As the field of SLA research has moved further in the direction of social and sociocultural theories about language learning and development, researchers have begun to take notice of SNSs like FB in terms of their perceived alignment with these perspectives. These theories posit that language learning, and indeed all learning, takes place through interpersonal and intertextual social interactions. Of the studies that looked specifically at the pedagogical implications of language learning through SNS participation, the overall trend is quite positive. Blattner and Lomicka (2012) found highly positive responses from students to the use of FB for academic purposes. They also found that FB participation generated a great deal of authentic language production in the target language. Blattner and Fiori (2011) were able to utilize FB as a vast repository of situationally specific and authentic language. Utilizing FB in this way allowed students to raise their socio-pragmatic awareness of the target

language and boosted their confidence. Mills' (2011) study embedded students within a global simulation and the FB component of the project functioned as a significant compliment to classroom-based instruction. Reinhardt and Zander (2011) did encounter some resistance to their FB project, primarily from students who felt that "informal" social networks like FB were not appropriate for classroom work.

Mitchell's (2012) study does not address pedagogy specifically in her findings but she is concerned with FB as a platform for English language learning. She reports that most of her participants claim to have found English learning to be one of the side effects of their participation on the site. She also discusses how some students benefitted by increased access to information about the university and surrounding community. One participant, for example, reported that he appreciated announcements from student services and found that notifications from student services received on his FB page give him access to information he could not find elsewhere. There is a pedagogic point to be made here in that students may benefit when information is pushed out to them and they are not required to actively seek out this information on their own. This participant likely would not have actively looked up the website for student services, but when announcements appeared on his FB news feed he was able to act on them if he chose to do so.

Significant Gaps in the Research

To date, very few studies have sought to address the specific relationship between FB usage and language learning. Of the 11 studies reviewed here, only five looked at language learning on FB (Blattner & Fiori, 2011; Blattner & Lomicka, 2012; Mills, 2011; Mitchell, 2012; Reinhardt & Zander, 2011). Two other studies (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Stevenson & Liu,

2010) reviewed language learning on SNSs other than FB and the four final studies (Gross & Acquisti, 2005; Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds, 2007; Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds, 2009; Tong et al., 2008) looked at FB user participation and self-disclosure. When looking at the 11 studies collectively, a number of gaps can be seen in the research base.

Firstly, 10 of the studies were conducted in the U.S. and only one (Harrison & Thomas, 2009) was conducted internationally (in Japan). This means very little is known about international student participation in FB. In the context of U.S. higher education, we have good demographic data on FB usage amongst students but even this general information is lacking in an international context. We don't know the extent of FB penetration for students across the world or how or if FB is being used in pedagogical contexts internationally.

Also, it is important to note that all 11 of these studies were conducted in higher educational contexts, mostly with undergraduate students but also, to a limited extent with graduate students and adult English language learners in the U.S. Given that there are currently close to one billion registered FB users, we can assume that a large number of these are not currently enrolled in institutions of higher education. Obviously there are many millions of high school FB users, both in the U.S. and internationally, but also a growing number of older users as well. Research has yet to be conducted on these demographic groups.

Finally, the target languages that have been studied are limited. Three of the four studies that looked specifically at language learning on FB were working with English speaking learners of French (Blattner & Fiori, 2011; Blattner & Lomicka, 2012; Mills, 2011) and only two looked at international students learning English (Mitchell, 2012; Reinhardt & Zander, 2011).

Generally the scope of the research base at this point is very narrow. Studies have looked almost exclusively at university students in the U.S. and little or no work has been done in

international contexts or with students of diverse age ranges and L1s. Perhaps most importantly for the present study, none of the studies reviewed here attempted to look at language use across multiple languages, or to specifically analyze the nature of the sociolinguistic contexts that participants create on the site. Research is lacking in plurilingual and multimodal site participation, and in detailed discourse analysis of language in use on FB.

Chapter 3

Design and Methods

Research Purpose and Questions

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the specific purpose of this study is *to explore how Thai high school students and their teachers participate in Facebook and use language on the site*. Three research questions were established for this study. These questions went through a revision process as described in Chapter 2. The research questions, in their final form, are restated here for clarity.

1. How do Thai high school students and teachers use Facebook?
2. What is the nature of the plurilingual and multimodal discourse for Thai high school students and teachers on Facebook?
3. How are Thai teachers making pedagogical use of Facebook as a platform for language instruction?

Research Design

Following Mertens (2010), the current study is grounded in both pragmatic and constructivist ways of conceptualizing truth and knowledge. From the pragmatic point of view, this has principally to do with the design of the study itself as well the established relationship between the pragmatic paradigm and mixed methods research (Greene, 2007). Though my study is primarily qualitative in its approach to analysis, the design is an embedded one (Cresswell & Clark, 2011), with initial quantitative questionnaire data being analyzed then employed for the selection of focal participants for detailed analyses of the FB data as shown in Figure 1.

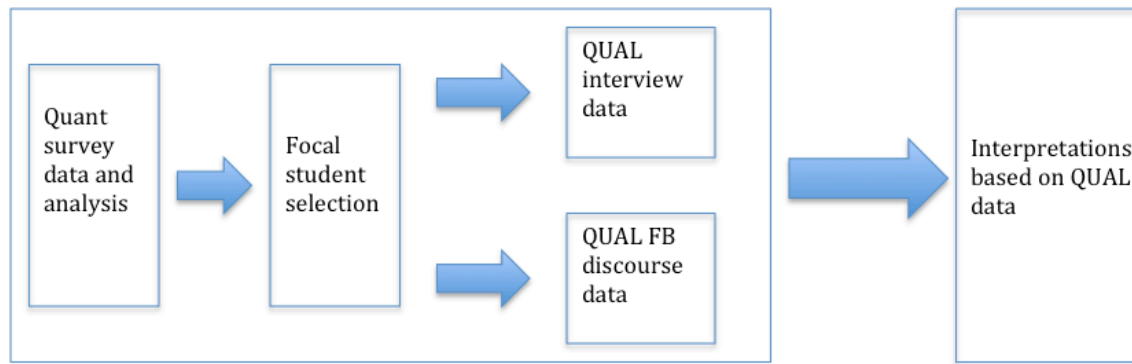


Figure 1. Overview of study design.

For me, use of the embedded design was an inherently pragmatic decision; a decision born out of the need to filter and distill large amounts of questionnaire data into meaningful and rich descriptions of FB participation at the level of the individual participant.

With respect to constructivism, there are two specific points to make relating to the current study and to my own beliefs as its author and primary researcher. The site and context for this study have both virtual and physical components. The high school itself is of course a physical space, shared by all participants in the study, and a space where real, physical interactions can take place on a daily basis. FB on the other hand, the site of the majority of the data collected for this study, is purely a virtual space. The basic layout of the site is constructed and maintained by FB's design team but the content is generated mostly through social interaction. FB is, by its very nature, a socially constructed reality and that reality is interpreted and experienced differently for each of its users. In order to understand how FB functions in the lives of its users, I have to understand their reality and their personal experiences with the site. The latter demands constructivist interpretations of realities as multiple, constantly in flux, and at times in conflict with one another. A second important point here has to do with my own positioning as researcher/observer of the participants. In order to collect data and view FB interactions, I had to be "friended" and in essence, invited into the community. I could not

function wholly as an independent and objective outside observer. My presence had to be acknowledged and affirmed in order for the study to take place and my presence in that space of course alters the nature of the phenomenon I am observing. The acknowledgement of the role of the observer is consistent with a constructivist epistemology, where it is understood that, “The inquirer and the inquired-into are interlocked in an interactive process; each influences the other” (Mertens, 2010, p. 19).

The study took place in Thailand from November of 2012 to February of 2013. It involved three chronological phases as depicted in Table 2.

Table 2

Three Phases of the Study

Phase	Description	Participants	Time range
1	Pilot	38 (1 complete grade 10 cohort)	June 1–July 15
2	Questionnaire and cognitive interviews	217 (6 complete grade 10 cohorts) 2 (cognitive interviews)	October 24– December 15
3	FB discourse and interviews	26 (FB discourse) 12 (Interviews)	January 1–March 1

The initial phase of the study consisted of a pilot study and the interpretation of the pilot results. Phase two was the development, administration, and analysis of a large-scale questionnaire. The third and primary phase of the study, consisted of the collection and analysis of FB discourse data from a small group of students along with the collection and analysis of interview data from eight focal students and four English teachers.

Pilot study. A small-scale pilot survey was completed prior to the beginning of the formal data collection period. A draft questionnaire was developed and revised in the first half of June, 2012 and administered in mid-June. This accomplished two goals. First the survey

demonstrated the feasibility of administering in-class questionnaires, in the Thai language, with the support of the classroom teachers. Second the survey confirmed a number of anecdotal observations both by the researcher and by fellow teachers, regarding student use of FB, namely that students were heavy users of FB and that language use on FB was diverse and multilingual.

The questionnaire was administered to a single cohort ($N = 38$) of mathayom four, or grade-level 10, students. The survey, and a compilation of its results, can be seen in Appendix B. The results help to support the idea that FB participation by students is robust in terms of both breadth and depth. Of the 38 respondents, 37 reported using FB, and 16 students reported using FB for two or more hours per day. Also, 26 students reported that they read English on FB, and 21 students reported writing in English as well. Finally, 13 students reported having teachers at their school as FB friends. Though this was a small pilot with a single cohort of students, it did make clear the fact that many students in this cohort are frequent users of FB, that their online social networks are extensive and include teachers, and also that the English language has a place in FB participation for many students. This pilot survey helped to support the claim that further research in this area was both feasible as well as warranted.

Research Context

The physical context for this research is a mid-size Thai “mathayom” school in a relatively urban setting. The research site has students from mathayom one to mathayom six (grade level 7-12). In each of these grade levels there are between 200 and 250 students who are divided into six cohort groups. Excluding the researcher, there are eight English teachers working with students in mathayom one through six. The school is located on the outskirts of one of Thailand’s larger cities but the students are drawn from both the city itself as well as the

surrounding countryside. Though the school follows Thailand's national curriculum, it is unique in a couple of specific ways. Firstly, the school is private and funded in part through the patronage of the Thai royal family. There are no fees associated with attending the school and it was specifically set up to target the needs of low to middle income students in the community. Secondly, the school is a broadcast center for a large-scale distance education project under the directorship of the Thai Distance Learning Foundation. Many of the courses are taught live and on-air. Live broadcasts of lessons continue throughout the day and taped, rebroadcasts are available 24 hours a day on 12 distance learning channels broadcast across Thailand and online.

The Thai constitution mandates free education for all citizens for a minimum of 12 years. In Thailand, K-12 education is divided into "prathom" schools and "mathayom" schools. Prathom schools cover grades one through six and sometimes include a kindergarten as well. Mathayom schools include grades seven through 12. Starting in mathayom four (equivalent to grade level 10), students are selected into a series of prescribed educational "tracks" focusing on hard sciences or a variety of foreign languages.

Curriculum is controlled at the national level in Thailand meaning requirements are standardized across the country. The national curriculum requires two hours per week of English instruction starting from prathom one through prathom six. Mathayom one to mathayom three require three hours of English per week, with specific attention on reading and writing skills development. Starting with mathayom four, when students are divided into various elective groups, the English requirements change but most schools continue to provide between two and four hours of English per week. The selected research site provides students in mathayom four to six with four hours of English instruction each week. Two hours are done in an "integrated skills" course, meaning students study listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Another two

hours are for either an “oral skills development” course or a “reading and writing” course. This information is summarized in Appendix C.

A second context for this study is the virtual context of FB. A general description of the history and functioning of FB was given earlier in the literature review portion of this study but from a research perspective FB needs to be understood as a site of study in and of itself. As a platform, FB provides a basic architectural framework for interaction; it provides the functionality and resources for participants to interact in a variety of media. It is the communities that develop on top of this framework, however, that can potentially function as key elements of study. These are the true “social networks” that make FB a viable and engaging platform for continued social interaction. As the current study will show however, these micro-communities on FB are fleeting. Friends are added and dropped on an almost daily basis, alliances shift, and communities evolve and change. Thus, throughout the study, the physical context of the school itself will at times be juxtaposed, at times, with the virtual context of FB, and participation in the two contexts needs to be clearly differentiated.

Participants

The present study will target only students of the mathayom four grade level. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, at the beginning of mathayom four, student cohorts are re-divided as they are tracked into their selected fields of study for the remaining years of school. This means there is a good deal of re-mixing taking place in terms of student social networks as new friends are made in their new cohort groups. Secondly, as the researcher, the students knew me as a teacher at the school and I had worked with several grade levels prior to commencing the study. However, during the data collection phase of the study I was not actively teaching the mathayom

four students meaning that I was not in the position of simultaneously teaching and conducting research on the same group of students.

Student questionnaire participants. The target group of participants for phase two consisted of the approximately 240 students in mathayom four. Two hundred seventeen students were present on the day the questionnaires were administered, and these students formed the initial sample (N = 217) of grade four student participants.

Student FB tracking participants. Students were selected for FB tracking based on data collected from the initial questionnaire as well as whether or not they had consented to have their FB data collected and tracked for the research. Two criteria were used to select students for this phase of the study. First, I looked for students who self-reported a large amount of time spent on FB. This data came in the form of “minutes spent on FB” from the questionnaire. After looking at various numerical cut-off points, I selected a group of 45 students who self-reported spending more than 150 minutes per day on Facebook. My second criterion was to search for students who claimed to be writing in diverse languages other than Thai. Of the 22 students finally selected, all 22 reported writing in both English and Thai on FB and 17 of the 22 reported writing in a third language as well.

Student interview participants. Eight participants were selected for interviews via an ongoing and daily review of their FB participation. The eight students selected had each shown evidence of multilingual FB participation and the initial interview groups were arranged according to pre-existing social circles evident from their FB participation.

All 22 of the student participants are listed in Appendix D. Table 3 provided here shows only the eight student participants who were ultimately interviewed. The table provides their FB name, abbreviated name, age, and gender. I have used pseudonyms for FB names, but have

attempted to maintain a degree of the originality and feeling that these names often included. Names that were originally written in the Thai alphabet have been switched to English for ease of reading and presentation. During the presentation of the findings and discussion, student participants will be referred to by their abbreviated names for simplicity.

Table 3

Partial Student Participant List (Interviewees Only)

FB name	Abbreviation	Gender	Age
Look-Pla mi	Look-pla	F	15
MC Blur Class	MC Blur	M	15
Mini Fiftyz	Mini	F	15
Thom As Heart	Thom	F	15
Clap Hello	Clap	F	16
Berry Aha Aha	Berry	F	16
Bom Family Head	Bom	M	16
Double' Iced	Double'	F	16

Teacher participants. In terms of teacher-participants, at the mathayom four grade level there were three native speaking Thai teachers who were teaching English during the data collection phase of the study and all three of these teachers were included in the study. A fourth teacher was included in the study as well. She was a Chinese teacher and native speaker of Chinese. Selection procedures for teacher participants were based on two criteria. Firstly, the teachers needed to have shown an interest and willingness to participate in the research and second, the teachers needed to be actively engaging with students on FB in languages other than Thai. Fulfilling these criteria left me with four candidates for teacher participants. Brief biographical information about each is summarized in Table 4 below. All names are pseudonyms and all teacher participants were female.

Table 4

Teacher Participants

Name	Nationality	Teaching experience (in years)	Age	Languages
Wang Ping	Chinese	2	24	Native speaker: Chinese English: Advanced Thai: Basic
Yingluck	Thai	15	40	Native speaker: Thai English: Advanced
Dang	Thai	15	38	Native speaker: Thai English: Advanced
Bee	Thai	3	25	Native speaker: Thai English: Intermediate

Researcher. As the primary researcher in this study, it is important for readers to understand something of my own background and experience, both with the participants themselves and with the field of English language learning and teaching in general. I am an Anglo, male American and I have been an ESL/EFL teacher and teacher trainer for almost 15 years and have a Master's degree in TESOL. At the time of this research, I had been working in Thailand for over one year as an English Language Fellow with the U.S. State Department, and I was concurrently working to complete my Ph.D. in Language and Literacy Development. I have limited oral proficiency with the Thai language and the majority of my interactions with participants in this study took place in English. I was well known to all participants in this study as a teacher and teacher trainer at the school, though at the time of data collection I was not actively teaching any of the participants. I was the only native English speaker at the school at that time and taught general skills courses as well as listening and speaking courses. Prior to beginning the research, I had not friended any students on FB and students did not view my

personal FB profile during the research. I am a mostly passive user of FB and have been so for around 4 years. I am familiar with the site's functionality and use it to keep in touch with friends and family, occasionally share personal content such as photos and videos, and also infrequently for professional networking purposes.

Research assistant. My wife is Thai and has served as my primary research assistant throughout most of this study. She is bilingual and biliterate in both English and Thai and has her MBA from a university in the United States. She also received TESOL certification in 2006 and has been teaching EFL and also Thai as a Second Language for most of the last 7 years. Her primary role has been to assist with interviews conducted in Thai. She conducted interviews and then translated them to English. She has also assisted with the translation of discourse data produced on FB, particularly when participants switched into the Thai orthography or made cultural references that I was not able to interpret. For the purposes of data presentation and particularly interview transcripts, I will refer to myself as “Andy H” and to my wife as “May H” throughout the study.

Measures

Aside from the pilot study described earlier, two researcher-designed measures were utilized during the course of the research. These consisted of the FB questionnaire and the teacher and student interview protocols used for the first round of interviews. Each of these is described in turn below.

FB questionnaire. I designed a questionnaire that consisted of five, basic demographic questions followed by eight, closed-ended questions looking specifically at FB usage. The final version of the questionnaire is included in Appendix E. In its final form, the questionnaire was a

modified and slightly elaborated version of the pilot questionnaire. Questionnaire items were refined through collaboration and discussion with my dissertation committee as well as feedback gathered from the cognitive interviews (described below).

Interview protocols. Prior to beginning the data collection phase of the study, two separate interview protocols were developed, one for use with student participants and the other for use with teachers. These are included in Appendix F and G respectively. Both interview protocols consist of exploratory and open-ended questions, allowing the interviewees freedom to move across topics and to frame answers as they deemed appropriate.

Data Collection Procedures and Sources

After completing the initial pilot study in June and July of 2012, formal data collection began in November of 2012 and finished at the end of February of 2013. After drafting the questionnaire for the study, cognitive interviews were conducted with a number of students. This process led to refinements and revisions to the questionnaire in its final form. Once participants had completed the questionnaires I analyzed the data to determine which students appeared to be making heavy use of FB on a day-to-day basis and which students self reported doing so in multiple languages. This led to the selection of 22 student participants for tracking of FB participation. At this point I established a new FB profile strictly for research purposes and I added these students as friends on FB and began daily tracking of their FB use. I also added four teachers to the FB profile at this time as well. Two rounds of interviews were then conducted, the first from scripted interview protocols described earlier and the second as an open-ended conversation about specific components of their FB participation.

Cognitive interviews. Cognitive interviews are a type of think aloud protocol. The term refers to “a set of techniques that enable a researcher to deeply analyze how respondents understand the survey questions they are to answer” (Ryan, Gannon-Slater, & Culbertson, 2012, p. 415). The process allows the researcher to develop a draft questionnaire and then test individual questionnaire items against actual participant responses to gain a better understanding of how the participants interpret the items and think through the process of answering.

Two students were selected based on availability and convenience to participate in the cognitive interview process in late October of 2012. Both of these students later became part of the group of 217 who completed the questionnaires because these students were participating as intact class groups. However, neither of these students was later selected as a focal participant for the interview and discourse analysis phases of the study. The cognitive interviews were between 15 and 17 minutes in length and were conducted by the research assistant in a quiet room at the school. Before initiating the interviews, I spent time explaining to the research assistant the purpose of the process and the goal of eliciting think aloud data on the participants’ understanding of the questions. Interviews were conducted and recorded entirely in Thai, then transcribed and translated by my wife. An example of a transcript from the cognitive interview is provided in Appendix H.

Questionnaire administration. Through the cognitive interview process described above, the questionnaire was revised slightly and the final version was administered on November 12, 2012 to a total of 217 student participants and four teacher participants. Teachers and students completed the same questionnaire. Teachers were told that it was not necessary to complete the initial, demographic portion of the questionnaire as this information was already known by the researcher or covered prior to their first interviews. All four teacher-participants were female.

Teachers were handed the questionnaire and asked to complete it and return it to the researcher on their own time. The four questionnaires from teachers were returned the same day.

Of the 217 students who responded to the questionnaire, 150 (69%) were female and 67 (31%) were male. Classroom teachers distributed the student questionnaires and students were asked to complete them during the last 10 minutes of class time. Classroom teachers who assisted with the administration of student questionnaires were not teacher-participants in the study and were not English teachers. Each classroom teacher had been briefed on the procedure ahead of time and had agreed to help with the distribution of the questionnaires. The six classroom teachers were each given a brief prompt to read (in Thai) that explained the nature of the project and the students' right to opt out of the survey process. Classroom teachers collected the questionnaires at the end of the 10-minute period and then I collected the set of questionnaires from each classroom teacher later in the same day.

FB tracking. In total, 22 students and four teachers were friended on FB in order to have their FB participation tracked on a daily basis. Data collection procedures involved a daily review of FB activity where I would scroll through my FB feed and identify any activity in languages other than Thai from my focal group of participants. Written text and links were copied and pasted into a separate document where I added explanatory and contextual information for each. Photos were collected via screen capture and saved into a distinct folder I maintained for each participant.

Student interviews. Two sets of student interviews were completed. The first followed the interview protocols provided in Appendices F and G, and were done in small groups. The second were done individually with questions targeted specifically at samples of FB discourse data. All interviews were conducted on school grounds and the majority took place during what

was often a free period at the end of the class day from 3:30–4:30 pm although a few were also done during lunch time. Two rooms were used for interviews. Student interviews were conducted in the “sound laboratory” which is a kind of audio/visual resource room that also functions as the English library. All interviews were recorded via laptop and USB microphone using the free Audacity program. All student interviews were conducted by my wife in Thai and transcribed into English for my analysis. Both my wife and I were present during each of the interviews.

The first round of student interviews was conducted in early January of 2013. A total of eight students were interviewed and these interviews were conducted in groups of three, three, and two. The three interviews varied in length from 18-28 minutes each and the total interview time for all three groups was approximately 65 minutes. This round of interviews mostly followed the interview protocol provided in Appendix F, though minor variations were made to allow natural interviewer responses to points raised by the participants. All three interviews were recorded in Thai and then translated into English for analysis.

We conducted the second round of interviews in the middle of February of 2013, shortly before the conclusion of the data collection period. These interviews differed from the first round in several ways. Firstly they were unscripted and designed to look at specific examples of text that had been produced on FB. Also, these interviews were done individually, rather than in groups, allowing for a more personal analysis of FB writing and participation. In total, five interviews were conducted during round two. I chose not to interview all eight of the round-one interview participants because during this interview I was looking specifically for students who had produced compelling examples of language use on FB that I wished to probe and explore in more detail. The interviewer went into each interview with usually three to four predetermined

language or content samples to discuss. Both my wife and I took notes during the interview process regarding which specific sample we were discussing at each particular time in order for us to easily return to the data at a later time and interpret the discussions. An example of this interview process is provided in Appendix I. The interview was conducted with a student named Tripple Iced, and Appendix I provides both an excerpt of discourse data from FB as well as a sample transcript from the interview. The detailed analysis of specific bits of text on FB shown in the excerpt is typical of the interviews conducted during round two.

Teacher interviews. The procedures for the teacher interviews were similar to the student interviews except for three important exceptions. Firstly, I conducted all of the teacher interviews myself and they were all done in English so the translation phase of the data collection was eliminated. Secondly, teacher interviews were conducted in our shared teacher office, at times that were convenient for the teachers and relatively quiet in the office. Finally, the teacher interviews did not include a group interview phase. All teachers were interviewed individually on two separate occasions.

The first round of teacher interviews was conducted early in January of 2013. The teacher interview protocol is included as Appendix G. The second round of teacher interviews was conducted in the middle of February of 2013 and followed a pattern similar to that of the student interviews. These interviews were non-scripted and focused on particular instances of language use on FB and the decisions underlying their language shifts. An exception to this was the teacher named Bee. As Bee was the only teacher who was actively exploring FB as a kind of course management platform and teaching tool, her second interview tended to look primarily at this aspect of her FB usage.

Quantitative Analysis Procedures

Analysis of survey data involved the straightforward summation of numeric data and the tallying of check boxes from the questionnaire. The questionnaire also generated basic demographic data including name, FB name, age, and gender, all of which were entered as well. For data entry and analysis I used Excel and generated descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, etc.) from Excel Workbooks. I completed the data entry and analysis for each of the 217 participants myself by working, in translation, from the original Thai questionnaires that were distributed and using the English translation of the questionnaire provided by my research assistant for support.

In order to make the data more transparent and interpretable, I generated both numeric tables as well bar or pie charts to for each item on the questionnaire. An example of this is given in Appendix G, with both the table and chart illustrations provided showing the self reported data on languages that participants write on FB.

Qualitative Analysis Procedures

The majority of the findings in this study rely on qualitative techniques and these techniques were used to analyze the interview and FB discourse data for the study. The data analysis conducted for the study has its roots in the concept of grounded theory as described by Corbin and Strauss (2008). Grounded theory allows researchers to generate theory from data through an understanding that a study's theoretical orientation is not pre-determined prior to the study but emergent from the data as the analytic process is undertaken. As I began to see patterns emerging from the data, I tested these patterns against incoming data to confirm, refine, or reject emergent themes. This analytic process is commonly referred to as the constant comparative

method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The following section looks at qualitative analytic procedures for both rounds of student and teacher interviews as well as the discourse analysis of the FB data.

Student interviews. All student interviews were recorded and transcribed by my wife. She listened to her own interviews in Thai and transcribed them to English as she was listening. In total this generated roughly 170 minutes of interview data.

The analytic process for round one of the student interviews began with the reduction and coding of the transcribed data. In keeping with the concept of grounded theory, I began this process open to all possibilities. I read and reread the first round of interview data, trying to get a sense of what was there and also what was not there. I started the process by coding all of the round one interviews using whichever codes made sense to me in the context of the data. After several readings through the student interview data, I settled on a total of 24 initial codes. After this process, I then began to look across the round one interviews for similarities or notable points of departure. The codes were then grouped and reduced to a total of five primary codes from round one student interview data. This coding and reduction process is shown in Table 5 where the 20 initial codes are listed along with their corresponding final code groupings

Table 5

Round 1 Student Interview Codes

Round 1 student interview			
Initial codes	Final code groupings	Initial codes	Final code groupings
1. English	1. Language use	13. Birthday	4. Events
2. Japanese		14. Graduation	
3. French		15. Wang Ping leave	
4. Chinese			

(table continues)

Table 5 (continued)

Initial codes	Final code groupings	Initial codes	Final code groupings
5. Friendship	2. Family and social	16. FB time	5. FB use
6. Parents/family		17. FB use	
7. Popularity		18. FB dislikes	
8. Peer pressure		19. FB access	
9. Song	3. Content	20. FB likes	
10. Video			
11. Likes			
12. Comments			

The data analysis procedures for the second round of student interviews were similar to what has been described above but codes needed alteration and refinement for two reasons. First, the individual interviews conducted in the second round all involved discussions about specific FB posts and details about language use and content sharing on the site. Because FB entries are time stamped by default, the interviewer was able to sit with participants and call up specific instances of language use on their FB wall and discuss these.

The other primary difference between coding the first round and second round interviews related to the timing of the interviews themselves. Both the Harlem Shake video event and the Valentine' Day event occurred on FB later in the data collection phases so only became topics of discussion during the second round of interviews. Also, Wang Ping's departure was much more in focus toward the end of the semester and was a major topic of conversation in the second round of interviews partly because much of the FB discourse data being discussed was topically related to her departure.

For the above-mentioned reasons, initial codes for the "language in use" and "events" groups needed refinement and significant additions. Also, "FB use" was not a primary topic of conversation during the second round of interviews nor was it intended to be a primary research focus for these interviews so these codes were not utilized in the second round of interviews.

These additions and alterations are made clear in Table 6 below which lists each of these final grouping codes along with their expanded range of corresponding initial codes. Additions and modifications to the interview codes for round two have been italicized in Table 6.

Table 6

Round 2 Student Interview Codes

Initial codes	Final code groupings	Initial codes	Final code groupings
1. English	1. Language use	15. Song	3. Content
2. Japanese		16. Video	
3. French		17. Likes	
4. Chinese		18. Comments	
5. <i>Multilingual</i>			
6. <i>Emoticon</i>		19. Birthday	4. Events
7. <i>Dual orthography</i>		20. Graduation	
8. <i>Bilingual</i>		21. Wang Ping leave	
9. <i>Meaning</i>		22. <i>Harlem Shake</i>	
10. <i>Style</i>		23. <i>Valentine's Day</i>	
11. Friendship	2. Family and social		
12. Parents/family			
13. Popularity			
14. Peer pressure			

Teacher interviews. The teacher interviews followed the same two-round pattern as did student interviews and in total these generated approximately 80 minutes of recorded data. The process of initial data analysis for teacher interviews was the same as that described above for the students but the codes themselves were somewhat different as the teachers tended to have a different orientation and way of thinking about FB usage, both their own and that of their students. Table 7 below lists the 20 codes initially assigned for round one of the teacher interviews and their corresponding final code groupings.

Table 7

Round 1 Teacher Interview Codes

Initial codes		Final code groupings		Initial codes		Final code groupings	
1.	English	1.	Language use	11.	FB for teaching	3.	FB for teaching
2.	Chinese			12.	Course manage		
3.	Bilingual			13.	Homework		
4.	Multilingual			14.	Student perception		
5.	Dual orthography			15.	Administration	4.	Administration
6.	Language learning						
7.	Friend types	2.	Social	16.	FB time	5.	FB use
8.	Friendship			17.	FB use		
9.	Popularity			18.	FB dislikes		
10.	Friending students			19.	FB access		
				20.	FB likes		

Appendix J demonstrates one partial excerpt from my initial interview with Bee that shows examples of codes as they were initially assigned during my early readings of the transcripts.

FB discourse data. One of the original organizing principles of this research was to be the development of “social maps” of participant-to-participant interactions. I had intended to work from the individual level to look at who was sharing what with whom and specifically how these patterns of information sharing impacted the nature of the language being used. In reality, analysis of this nature proved problematic. Student participants in particular tend to shift allegiances and alignments so often that no clear group affiliations could easily be established. Also, the overall number of friends for each individual participant often exceeded 1000. This number was well beyond my expectations and contributed to the difficulty of the social mapping process. Instead, my analysis of the FB data led me in a slightly different direction.

In fact, I chose to frame patterns of FB participation not at the level of the discourse community itself but in terms of how it facilitates participation in and the experience of various

events. As I undertook the process of data sifting, coding, and general organization, particularly the discourse data from the FB participation, I was seeing that the data tended to center around broad events. "Events" in this case can be dates like Valentine's Day or birthdays, but also the impending departure of a popular teacher, or the planning of graduation ceremonies and parties. There are also events that can be understood to be specific to FB, or more accurately specific manifestations of the use of FB as a platform for social media participation. For example, there was a new video sharing application introduced during the data collection phase of the study and it spread across FB quickly and many students began using it to post videos from their mobile devices to FB. Overall, FB participation for high school students and their teachers in this study appears to have less to do with social interaction on the individual or small group level and more to do with the desire to participate in and experience these types of broader events.

My analysis of FB discourse data was informed by several factors. The first of these was an overarching belief in grounded theory and the focus on themes and findings as emergent phenomena, not rooted in particular theoretical orientations. As with the interview data, analysis began with a coding and reduction phase. All multilingual discourse data that had been extracted from FB was coded and sorted. This process led to the second factor informing my discourse analysis work. The codes being assigned seemed to operate along a continuum of micro and macro level analysis, similar to Gee's notion of the discourse/Discourse distinction (Gee, 2011). At the micro level my codes were highlighting the specific and highly situated meanings of the utterances themselves while at the macro level codes tended to bring out the ways in which various utterances aligned with events taking place both locally and globally. This final point brings up the third factor influencing the FB discourse analysis. Once I understood that much of the discourse used by participants could be thematically organized around the participation in

global and local events, I began to reanalyze the discourse data with this framework in mind, looking for commonalities in terms of event participation. This process also led me back to the interview data for the purpose of triangulation and ultimately this back and forth between discourse and interview data led to the event participation framework as described in detail in chapter four of this study.

To better understand the analytic procedures at work on the FB discourse data, it is helpful to see examples of the process at work. Let me start by showing several examples of the type of discourse data I was working with and also examples of codes as they were originally assigned. Figure 2 shows discourse samples in the left hand column, along with associated codes and my brief explanations of each item. An expanded version of Figure 2 showing more examples of discourse data is presented in Appendix L.

Discourse Sample	Assigned Codes	Explanation
เด็กๆ ม.6 พ่วงนิพจน์ที่ห้อง sound lab นะ ตามรายชื่อที่อ้อมโพสไว้ เข้าสุด 9.00 น.จ้า	Mostly Thai Teaching Dual orthography Teacher Graduation event	Teacher announcing the time and place of a re-exam for graduating students
该从哪里开始收拾??? T.T 看到这一大堆就头痛 Where to start packing? This is a headache!	Bilingual Chinese Emoticons Teacher Leaving event	Chinese teacher about her preparations for leaving and how to pack everything
hpbdd(:	All English Emoticons Abbreviations Birthday event	Happy birthday announcement from student

Figure 2. Examples of discourse data and assigned codes.

As noted, the assigned codes tended to center around either specific features of the text itself (Mostly Thai, All English, Emoticons, etc.), or broader events happening within the school or even at the global level (teacher leaving event, Harlem Shake event). Table 8 highlights some of the codes assigned to discourse analysis at the level of the multilingual text itself and at the broader level of alignment with events taking place globally and locally.

Table 8

Coding of Discourse Data

Primary codes for text level analysis (micro level)	Primary codes for event level analysis (macro level)
1. All English	1. Valentine's Day event
2. Mostly Thai	2. Teacher leaving event
3. Bilingual	3. Graduation event
4. Chinese	4. Harlem Shake video sharing event
5. Japanese	5. Various birthday events
6. Emoticons	
7. Profanity	
8. Abbreviations	

Once the data had been divided into one of the two categories described above, further analysis was then possible. A review of the text level data highlighted the hybridity and fluidity of the various languages, the ease of movement between languages, and the sophisticated way in which nuanced emotions are communicated between interlocutors even as they negotiate across multiple languages. At the event level, it became clear that participants were less concerned about their participation in various social networks and discourse communities than they were about using FB as a mechanism to participate, either virtually or physically, in various local and global events.

Following the constant comparative method, as themes emerged they were tested against new data as it became available and refined or abandoned accordingly. Linking of data across sources in this study was quite important as preliminary analyses from one source often informed the implementation and collection of other data. For example, it was necessary to have a significant amount of analysis completed of the FB discourse data before proceeding with the second round of interviews as the interview topics were generated directly from the analysis of the FB discourse data.

Organization of Findings

Findings from this study are detailed in Chapter 4 and divided into four distinct sections. In the first section, I look at FB participation through the eyes on the user-participants. This section relies most heavily on the questionnaire data but also blends in interview excerpts as well. The second section frames participation through a series of four “events” that transpired on FB during the data collection phase of the study. Next, the study provides a detailed analysis of the specific use of language on FB, relying on plurilingual and multimodal analyses to frame language choices on the site. Finally, the findings chapter turns to the teachers’ use of FB, looking at both their conscious and subconscious efforts to utilize FB as a tool for language teaching and learning.

Chapter 5 returns to the original research questions of the study, and analyzes the findings presented in Chapter 4 in relationship to these research questions. The first of my research questions asks how participants are using FB, and the questionnaire data is particularly helpful in this context. This questionnaire data is supplemented by interview excerpts and FB discourse samples to highlight how students and teachers are participating in the site. The second question looks into the detailed nature of the plurilingual and multimodal discourse. It is here in particular that the carry-over between the FB discourse data and the interviews becomes most useful. The analysis is able to look in detail at samples of multilingual and multimodal discourse and also discuss these samples with the participants who created them and consider their motivations and intentions. Finally, the third research question looks how teachers are specifically making use of the site, and the various affordances and constraints that FB usage places on the teaching and language learning process. Each of these questions are addressed

specifically in Chapter 5 of this study and integrated with findings both from the present study as well as from the broader body of research conducted previously.

Chapter 4

Findings

Findings from this study are presented here in four distinct but interrelated categories. Because I am primarily concerned with understanding the nature of FB participation for students and teachers, I have categorized the findings from this study into four frameworks; these frameworks allow the conceptualization of FB participation on diverse levels. Within each of these frameworks, I have attempted to highlight specific themes that have emerged from the data, and to present these themes as a series of interpretive findings. In this way, I hope to highlight both the diversity within the data itself, as well as the range of conceptual frameworks for thinking about FB participation.

The first section looks at a framing of FB participation through the eyes of the users. This section relies primarily on self-reported, quantitative data drawn from the questionnaires administered at the start of the study. In the second section, I look at FB participation through a series of four social events that unfolded on FB over the course of the data collection period. In this section, I consider how the desire to fully participate in these events impacts the specific nature of FB usage by participants. In the third section of this chapter, I frame FB participation through a detailed analysis of the language itself. Here I make use of plurilingualism and multimodality as analytic tools to help illustrate the sophisticated ways in which the elements of different languages, emoticons, images, and videos all work together as a functional communicative system. Finally, the last section of this chapter considers the notion of FB as a pedagogic tool and frames student and teacher participation through from the point of view of the pedagogic potential of the site. Although descriptive analysis is presented in this chapter, it is primarily intended as an interpretive analysis of the various data from the study. In the following

chapter, these interpretive findings are discussed in greater detail and within the context of the original research questions for the study.

FB Participation Through the Eyes of the Users

Overall, this study seeks to provide information on FB participation amongst Thai high school students and teachers, information that is simultaneously broad-based, contextualized, and detailed at the level of actual FB discourse. At the wider end of the spectrum, analysis of questionnaire data provides some general demographic information on student and teacher participants. It also gives information on a number of other factors including patterns of FB access, friendship counts, and specific languages used for FB participation. Presentation of questionnaire data is here divided into three areas. The first of these looks at gender and usage time, and here I break down self-reported male and female usage of FB in terms of time spent on the site per day. The second section details FB access and friendship counts for study participants, and the third highlights the languages being used on FB for both reading and writing. I've chosen to present the data in this way because these three components emerged most clearly and obviously from the questionnaire data, and because they help to provide the necessary context for later analysis of discourse and interview data. The overall results from the questionnaire are summarized in Appendix M.

The data presented here is able to provide a broad overview of participants' views of their own FB usage. An important point to keep in mind however, is that when it comes to students self-reporting time spent on FB in particular, it seems clear that there is a tendency towards over reporting or claiming to spend more time on FB than may actually be the case. In fact, I will provide some interview data later to suggest that there is likely a "coolness" factor at work here,

with students feeling that more time on FB makes them appear cooler in the eyes of their peers. In my view, this tendency to over report FB usage data is a finding in and of itself, and it helps show the relevance of the data to the overall study even when reliability is shown to be low.

Girls self report greater FB usage. As described earlier, the majority of the student participants are female. According to conversations I have had with various school administrators and district officials, the preponderance of female students is primarily due to the fact that the school's main focus is in the area of social sciences, in particular language development, and many students more interested in math and physical sciences choose to attend another high school nearby. This unfortunate division serves to reinforce gender stereotypes relating to girls' participation in core math and science curriculum at an early age. It also places boys in a significant minority in almost every classroom, and creates challenges for teachers concerned with diversity and inclusion in their classes.

When breaking down the self-reported FB usage data, gender appears to be a major factor in terms of overall time spent on the site, as does the distinction between weekend and weekday usage. Their data on FB usage is summarized below in Table 9. The table shows male and female FB usage in self-reported minutes per day on both weekends and weekdays. The final column on the right shows the weighted average of weekend and weekday usage.

Table 9

Weekend and weekday Facebook usage by gender (in minutes per day)

Time	Male			Female			Total		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Weekday	97	107	0-720	122	124	0- 720	114	120	0-720
Weekend	151	128	10-720	267	273	0-1440	232	245	0-1440
Total	112	107	13-720	163	156	5- 926	148	145	5-926

Note. Of the 212 students who responded to the questionnaire, only 202 provided interpretable responses on the question of FB usage per day.

A couple of important points can be made regarding the above data. Firstly, standard deviations and ranges are quite large, meaning that there exists substantial variance in terms of self-reported FB usage. For example, during the week, males average 97 minutes of FB usage per day, but the range is from 0 to 720 minutes. Aside from the wide range exhibited by the data, another important point to note is the difference in self-reported time on FB between males and females. By combining the weekend and weekday categories, we see that females report spending an average of 163 minutes per day on the site whereas males report 112 minutes per day. This means females report spending roughly 40% more time on the site per day than do males of the same age.

Students likely over-reporting FB usage. Students are in school from 8:00 am until 3:30 pm everyday throughout the week, and during this time, they do not have access to networked personal computers. The school has a strict policy against the use of mobile phones on campus, and anecdotally I have seen that the majority of the students abide by this policy, particularly while they are in their classrooms. A few students do have data-enabled smartphones with them during the day and these devices are popular at lunch time and on breaks and their use is for the most part tolerated by school staff. In my observations, this often involves between four

and eight students gathered closely together over a single device to look at pictures or read comments on FB.

In the context of the school lives of the students, the self-reported FB participation numbers seem exceptionally high, particularly during the week while they are attending classes at a school with a fairly strict policy against mobile phone use. As a researcher I was not able to test the reliability of these self-reported numbers through monitoring actual time spent on FB. There is no function on FB to track the amount of time others are logged on or actively viewing the site. With my focal students, I was able to count total posts and comments per day, but this only serves as a measure of productive, not receptive use of FB. My only option for cross checking this information was to ask about it in participant interviews. On two occasions, participants suggested in interviews that student self-reported data on FB usage was likely over reported. The first exchange occurred during a group interview. In this excerpt, the students explain how they feel that self-reported FB usage numbers are “too much” and likely over-inflated due to popularity.

Interview excerpt 1

May H: Do you think you all are spending too much time on FB?

Bom: I don't think I have FB addiction or something like that. I just use it mostly in the evening.

Clap: Yeah, yeah [general agreement]

Berry: Yeah

May H: But when we asked students, they said like 2 or 3 hours per day.

Bom: That's too much. I think people just say that because they like FB and they know it is popular with everybody.

The second exchange took place during an individual interview with Berry when we specifically asked her about reporting 360 minutes per day on weekends. Her point is quite similar to the previous example. Basically she is suggesting that students over-report FB participation because spending a lot of time on the site means that you have an active social life with many friends that you constantly need to be in touch with.

Interview excerpt 2

May H: So in the questionnaire you said you spent about 360 minutes per day on FB during weekends. That is about six hours. What are you doing during all that time?

Berry: Well, I am not really looking at FB all the time but I have it on my computer so if I am working or something it is there.

May H: Lots of students said they spend 5-6 hours a day on FB. Do you think they are mostly like you and just mean that they have it open on their computer all day?

Berry: Yeah or well . . . maybe no. I guess a lot of people said high numbers to show they are popular since being on FB a lot means you have lots of friends kind of.

Data drawn from these two student interviews suggests an interesting possibility. Girls in particular appeared to self-report time spent on FB that is almost impossibly high in some cases. These interviews highlight the likelihood that over reporting of time spent on FB may be due in part to a desire to appear popular. The implication being that if you are “busy” on FB for many hours per day, then you must have an active social circle that demands constant attention.

Another consideration in the apparent over reporting of time spent on FB may be related to the instrument itself and the possibility that participants may have interpreted the question in different ways. The relevant questionnaire item specifically asks how many minutes per day that participants “spend on FB” and this phrasing could lead to multiple interpretations on the part of the reader. There is a difference of course, between actively reading and writing on the site and

simply having the application running in the background on your smartphone all day. So, differing interpretations of FB usage may in part be responsible for some of the variation in this data as well.

Students access FB in a variety of ways. The questionnaire asked participants to report how they gained access to FB on a daily basis. Unsurprisingly, personal computers and smartphones were the most popular means of access whereas tablet computers, not yet commonplace across Thailand, were the least common selections. This data is summarized in Figure 3 with “Y” and “F” representing “Your” and “Friend’s” respectively and “comp” as an abbreviation for computer.

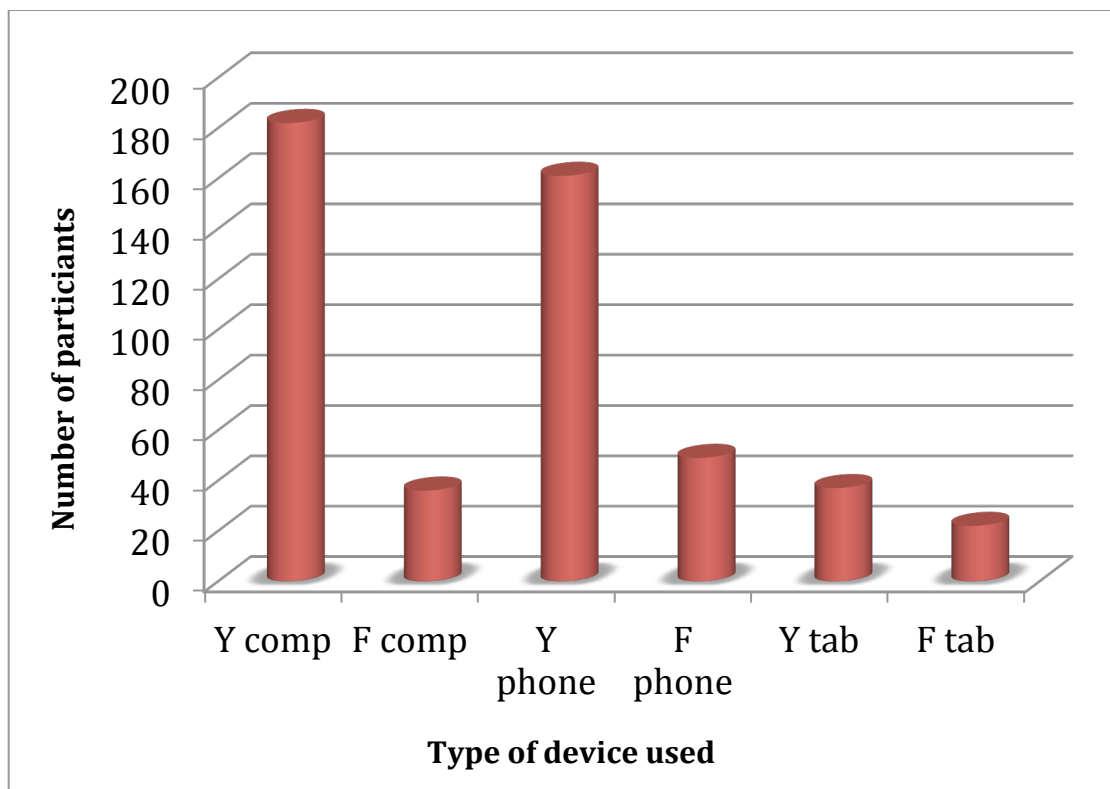


Figure 3. Bar graph showing means of accessing FB.

Though tablet computers are clearly not popular, it is worth noting that a relatively large number of students report accessing FB either through a friend’s computer or through a friend’s phone. In fact, nearly 20% of respondents reported using a friend’s phone to access the site. This

is interesting because it means that students are sharing resources, and in many cases, actively logging in and logging out throughout the day in order for friends to access their accounts.

Friendship counts and the virtual and physical notions of friendship. The questionnaire also collected data on friendship counts for FB users. Participants were asked to select a single numeric category to represent their total number of friends on FB. Four categories were possible and the data is summarized in below, which shows the percentage of students for each of the four friend-count categories. Clearly the vast majority of students (79%) have over 300 FB friends, and in fact, many of the friend totals for my focal students on FB were over 1000.

Friend Counts by Percentage

Less than 50	1%
50-100	7%
100-300	13%
More than 300	79%

In interviews and discussions with students, it was clear that numbers such as friendship counts, likes, and comments were actively being used by students as proxy representations of popularity so very little “de-friending” seemed to take place. In reality, most of the student participants I interacted with were FB friends with at least half of their high school classmates. Interestingly, although girls self-report spending much more time on FB than boys in this study, the distribution of friend count totals across the four categories is roughly the same for boys and girls.

As noted earlier, my data showed that at least in some cases it seemed likely that students were over reporting the amount of time spent on FB. Since this appeared to be related to popularity, it might make sense for the student participants to similarly over report friend counts on FB. Interestingly however, I was able to cross check self-reported and actual friendship

counts in my group of focal students, and students were not exaggerating friendship counts in any way that I could measure. All focal students that reported 300+ friends did in fact have 300 or more FB friends. One student interview that explicitly discussed this issue was conducted with Double' Iced. In the interview, she suggested that participants were likely to add most anyone regardless of their "real world" friendship status.

Interview excerpt 3

May H: You have over 600 FB friends. Who are all these people? Do you talk to all of them outside of FB?

Double' Iced: They are mostly classmates. They are not really all my friends but on FB you want to see what everyone is saying all the time so you add them as friends so you can see what they write.

May H: So for students, having more FB friends is better?

Double' Iced: We just want to know what is going on so we add everyone as friends.

From interview data like this, it seems that at least some participants may be working with a definition of "friend" on FB that does not necessarily align with the traditional meaning in everyday life. High school students are often quite concerned with how they appear to others and how others speak about them; it makes sense that this would be true both in virtual and physical spaces. If you want to see and hear what others are saying, posting, and sharing on FB then you have to "friend" them in the FB sense of the word, even though these would not necessarily be people that students would choose to spend time with outside of school.

Within the physical context of the school it appeared that friendships and social group were more stable than their virtual counterparts. As with any high school, there were clearly defined social groups, and students could easily be observed participating in these groups on a day-to-day basis. Many of these groups carried over into sports and clubs, so that students with shared interests were often participating in after school activities together. As a researcher, I did

not set out to systematically evaluate the strength of real-world friendship ties, but in my own ongoing observations of participants, I did see evidence of strong and continuous bonds between students.

Interestingly, FB itself, and in particular FB access, appeared to act as a cohesive bond for friendships in the face-to-face world of the school. Official school policy did not allow for mobile phone use anywhere on school grounds, but this policy was rarely enforced outside of the classroom, and, as previously mentioned, students could often be observed, during lunchtimes and breaks, huddled together over small screens, checking in on FB. They were often looking at pictures and discourse in the virtual context of FB, but discussing these together in small groups of four to eight students. The limited number of devices that students could use to gain access to the site meant that resources were shared and discussions were facilitated. This carryover between the virtual and physical contexts is important to note because it somewhat contradicts the popular perception of SNSs as destroyers or real-world social skills. At least for the participants in this study, FB was a broadly “social” network, and functioned to facilitate social interaction in both the physical and virtual spaces.

Reading and writing occurs in diverse languages. Finally the questionnaire asked participants to provide details about the languages they read and write on FB. On the site, users are allowed to choose their default language, and support is provided for over 70 different languages. Users in Thailand will set Thai as their default language when they register a new profile. This means that all of FB’s supporting documentation will appear in Thai. It does not limit participants from choosing to read and write in other languages, however, and many users choose to do exactly this. Most smartphones and computer keyboards make it relatively easy to

switch input methods, including changing from one orthography to another, and students do this often with ease and frequency.

At this high school, there are five foreign languages that are taught. English is a foreign language requirement and all students take courses in reading and writing English. German, French, Chinese, and Japanese are distinct tracks of study with approximately 40 students in each track. Information on self-reported languages read and written is summarized in Figure 4.

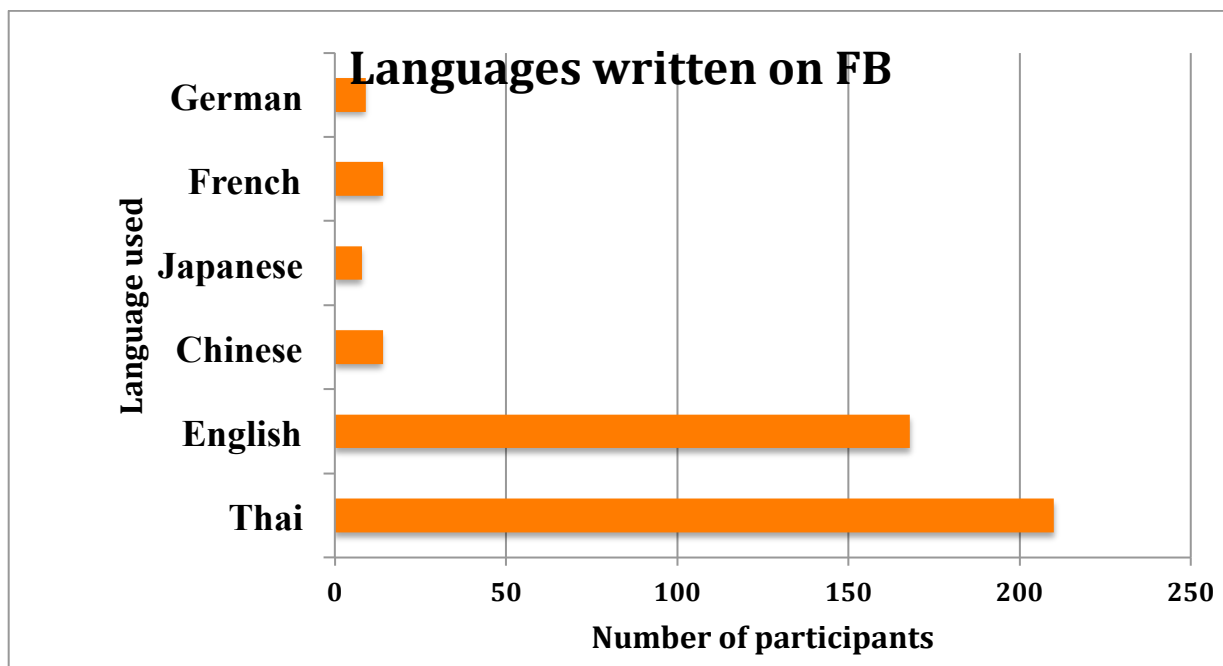
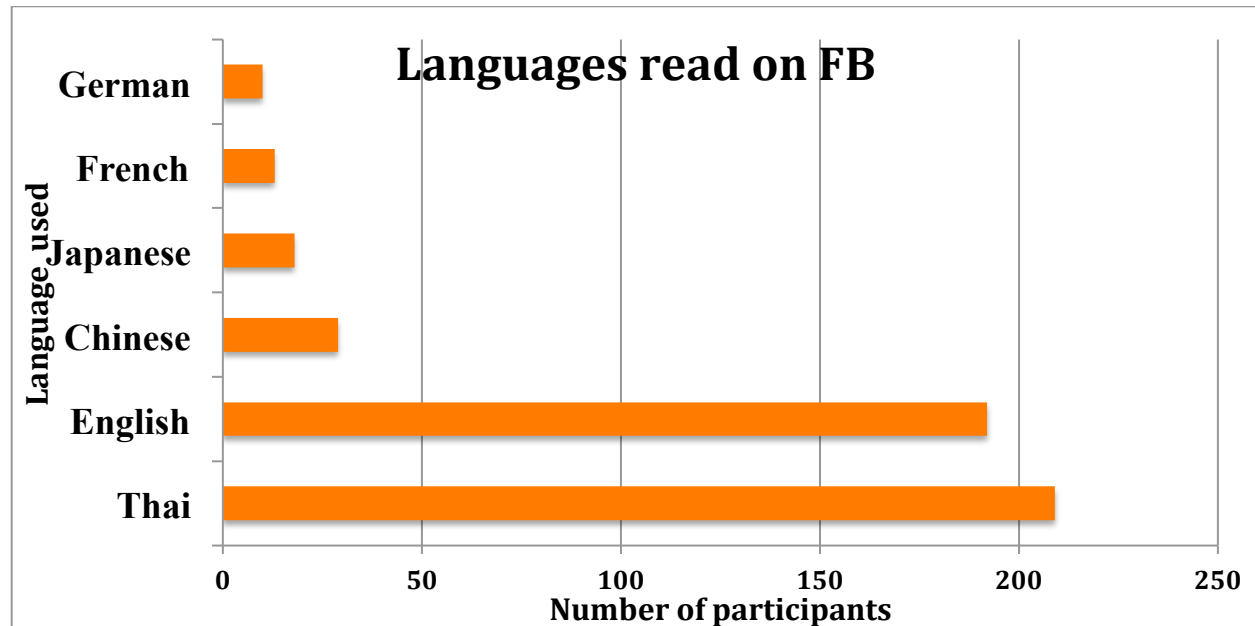


Figure 4. Bar graphs showing languages read and written on FB.

Figure 4 (cont.)



From the data, it is easy to see that the vast majority of students self-report reading and writing in both Thai and English on FB. The other languages are mixed with generally higher numbers reported for reading over writing. Chinese is the most popular third language amongst the six in terms of reading, with 14.7% of students self-reporting that they read in Chinese. Writing numbers are lower and more evenly distributed across the four languages other than English and Thai. Approximately 9% of students self-report writing in Chinese and about 8% self report writing in French. In my review of the FB discourse data I can confirm that the cohort of students studying the Chinese language were in fact active readers and writers of the language on FB. Evidence of this will be provided through more detailed discourse analysis later in this chapter. This appeared mostly to be due to the strong FB presence of the native speaking Chinese teachers at the school who engaged regularly with students on FB in Thai, English, and Chinese.

Teacher use of FB varies widely by age. The four teachers participating in the study also responded to the questionnaire, and because there were only four participants, their

responses can be looked at in some detail. Table 10 provides information about teachers' use of FB drawn from their questionnaire responses. The table shows time spent per day, friendship counts, and also languages read and written on FB.

Table 10

Teacher Self Reported FB Usage

Name	Minutes/day (weekday)	Minutes/day (weekend)	Friend count	Languages read	Languages written
Wang Ping	100	360	300+	Thai, English, Chinese, French	Thai, English, Chinese
Yingluck	10	30	300+	Thai, English, Chinese	Thai, English
Dang	5	10	300+	Thai, English	Thai, English
Bee	60	180	300+	Thai, English, Chinese, French	Thai, English, Chinese

Wang Ping and Bee are the two younger teachers, and both report spending much more time on the site per day than either Yingluck or Dang. All four participants report reading and writing in both Thai and English on FB, while both Wang Ping and Bee also state that they use Chinese and French as well. Each of the four participants report having over 300 friends on FB.

The most obvious difference between the teacher and student data has to do with the amount of time they are spending on the site per day. Both Wang Ping and Bee can be said to be roughly in line with mean student usage for both weekends and weekdays. However, both of these women self report much heavier usage on weekends than during the week. This was true of students as well, but the difference is not nearly as large. We can see that both Wang Ping and Bee triple their usage on weekends. Yingluck and Dang are much less frequent users of the site, and in fact, both were primarily passive users of FB, keeping track of friends but rarely posting comments or content of their own.

One reason for the differential usage patterns between the four teachers may be age. Wang Ping and Bee are 24 and 25 years old respectively. They are relatively recent college graduates, and the Internet and social media have been components of their lives throughout adulthood. They both appear more comfortable engaging with their students on FB, and seem to see these interactions as natural extensions of their in-school relationships. Yingluck and Dang are different. They are 40 and 38 years old respectively and have become social media users only later in their adult lives. They are both much less likely to actively engage with their students on FB. Dang and Yingluck are also much further removed from their students than Wang Ping and Bee in terms of social interests, popular cultural, and day-to-day life experiences.

FB participation for both teachers and students is highly varied, but there are clear trends and patterns that emerge from the data. Heavy usage of the site, combined with both multilingual participation and diverse and extensive friend networks, mean participants are given opportunities to create and participate in complex and sophisticated discourse. Interactions between teachers and students on FB are not uncommon, particularly for the two younger teachers, and the site is central to the social lives of many participants in this study.

FB Participation through Event Analysis

Research into patterns of social media usage has often centered around its ability to enable participation in discourse communities or various communities of practice focused on personal interests and mutual engagement (Mills, 2011; Reinhardt & Zander, 2011). Drawing on these notions, language researchers have, for example, used theories of situated learning to explain how language learning in socially networked spaces is often experienced primarily through interactions with affiliated community members (Mills, 2011, p. 348).

Findings from the current study suggest that, while it is true that FB use facilitates the development of micro-communities within larger groups, participation in these communities is often transitory in nature. For this reason, my analysis of the FB data led in a slightly different direction. In fact, in this section, I have chosen to frame patterns of FB participation not at the level of the discourse community or key participant, but in terms of how they facilitate participation in, and the experience of, various events. As I undertook the process of data sifting, coding, and general organization, particularly the discourse data from the FB participation, I was seeing that the data tended to center around broad events. "Events" in this case can be dates like Valentine's Day or birthdays, but also the impending departure of a popular teacher, or the planning of graduation ceremonies and parties. There are also events that can be understood to be specific to FB, or more accurately, specific manifestations of the use of FB as a platform for social media participation. For example, there was a new video sharing application introduced during the data collection phase of the study, and it spread across FB quickly, and many students began using it to post videos from their mobile devices to FB. Overall, FB participation for high school students and their teachers in this study appears to have less to do with social interaction on the individual or small group level, and more to do with the desire to participate in and experience these types of broader events.

The following analysis presented in this chapter will center around four specific events that were observed during the course of data collection. These four events are included in the Table 11 below along with brief explanations of each.

Table 11

Primary Events for Analysis

Event name	Description
1. Valentine's Day	International Valentine's Day, celebrated on February 14 th , was a major social event in the lives of many participants.
2. Departure of Chinese teacher	Wang Ping was a popular Chinese teacher who returned to China at the end of the semester. She used FB heavily to interact with students and organize events and activities related to her departure.
3. Harlem Shake videos	This was an internet "meme" from January/February of 2013. It was a dance video that was copied and remixed all over the world. A couple of student participants were in groups that recorded their own versions of this video.
4. Birthdays	There were several participant birthdays during the data collection period and birthday greetings and wishes tended to follow a prescribed "template" that included the use of English.

All of these events generated a significant amount of multi-lingual discourse data from FB, and were each probed to varying extents during the interview process with both students and teachers. The following section will provide samples of each of the four primary analytic events, as well as contextual information to frame the data samples and more fully illustrate the events themselves. Though each of these events will be analyzed independently from one another, it is important to keep in mind that there exists a good deal of temporal overlap, and, at times, data can be seen as potentially contributing to more than one focal event. Within the analysis of each event, key findings are highlighted for clarity and fully integrated analyses across the four events takes place in subsequent sections of the chapter and in the discussion section of the following chapter.

The Valentine's Day event. Valentine's Day is an international holiday, and is now celebrated on February 14th across much of the world. Thailand is no exception to this case.

Valentine's Day has become one of the major events of the year for many young people in Thailand, and high school students across the country spend days and sometimes weeks preparing for Valentine's Day activities. Within the physical space of the school, the primary Valentine's Day events centered around the delivery of flowers and chocolates, as well as the decorating of student clothing with stickers, hearts, or Valentine's Day wishes. However, because so many students at the school participate in social media like FB, there is also a great deal of sharing of photos and Valentine's Day wishes on the site.

One primary difference between the traditional face-to-face Valentine's Day activities and their emergent online parallels is the highly public nature of the sharing that takes place on sites like FB. When a boy or girl directs a Valentine's Day wish to a significant other or romantic interest, that statement is immediately broadcast publicly for all to see and comment on. FB users do, of course, have a choice in this matter. There are private messaging options on FB so that one user can direct a message privately to another user. Undoubtedly these private options are used frequently but when public expressions are made, they become performed aspects of student identity. In Figure 5 below, you can see an example of how two students have publicly chosen to express their identity as a couple on Valentine's Day. In this image we see the boyfriend of Double' Iced, one of the girls participating in the study, sending her a Valentine's Day message. In figure 5 below, as well as throughout the remainder of the study, samples of text in English will be annotated with a single underline, and Chinese writing will be double-underlined. Thai writing will not be annotated as it is considered to be their primary language of interaction.



Figure 5. Valentine's message from the boyfriend of Double' Iced.

This image is representative of the general trend in Valentine's Day participation for students in the study. Of the 22 student-participants, 12 shared Valentine's Day images of one form or another, and 21 of the 22 students posted or commented on Valentine's Day messages. Of the four teacher-participants, only Yingluck was entirely absent from FB on Valentine's

Day, the other three teachers shared images (Wang Ping) or posted their own Valentine's Day messages (Bee and Dang).

Valentine's Day greetings on FB tended to involve romantic interests, but this was not always the case. It was not uncommon for students to post photos of friends with simple greetings or Valentine's Day wishes. These could be photos while at school or during other times out socializing with friends. In Figure 6 below, Mikkey has posted a photo of herself enjoying lunch with friends on a weekend along with a Valentine's greeting primarily in English. She makes use of the Thai discourse particles “na” and “ja” in her utterance, giving it a friendlier and more casual tone and the text itself is done entirely in the Latin script.

Happy Valentine'day na ja....Love & Miss you all so much — with [redacted] and 13 others.



Figure 6. Valentine's greeting from Mikkey to her friends.

Similarly in Figures 7 and 8 shown below, we can see other evidence of Valentine's Day postings from students. In Figure 7, one of the boys participating in the study sends a general

Valentine's Day message out to FB. This particular example is strictly text based and does not include a photo. However, he does make use of a variety of emoticons and alternate between two orthographies in the post.

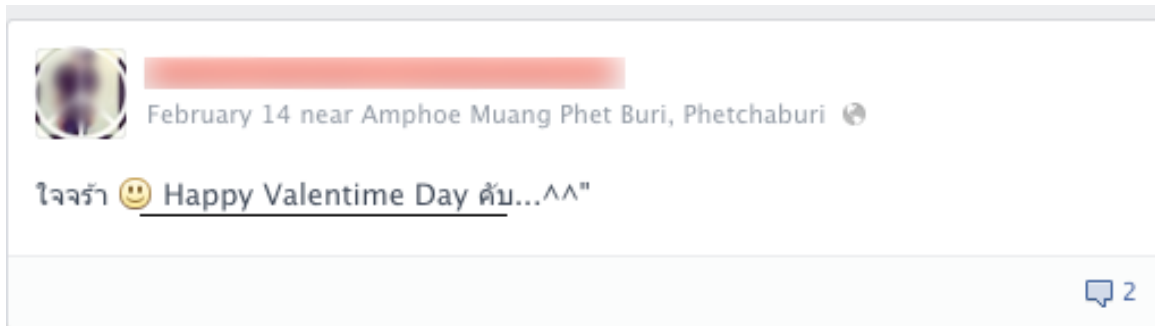


Figure 7. Text based Valentine's greeting from MC Blur

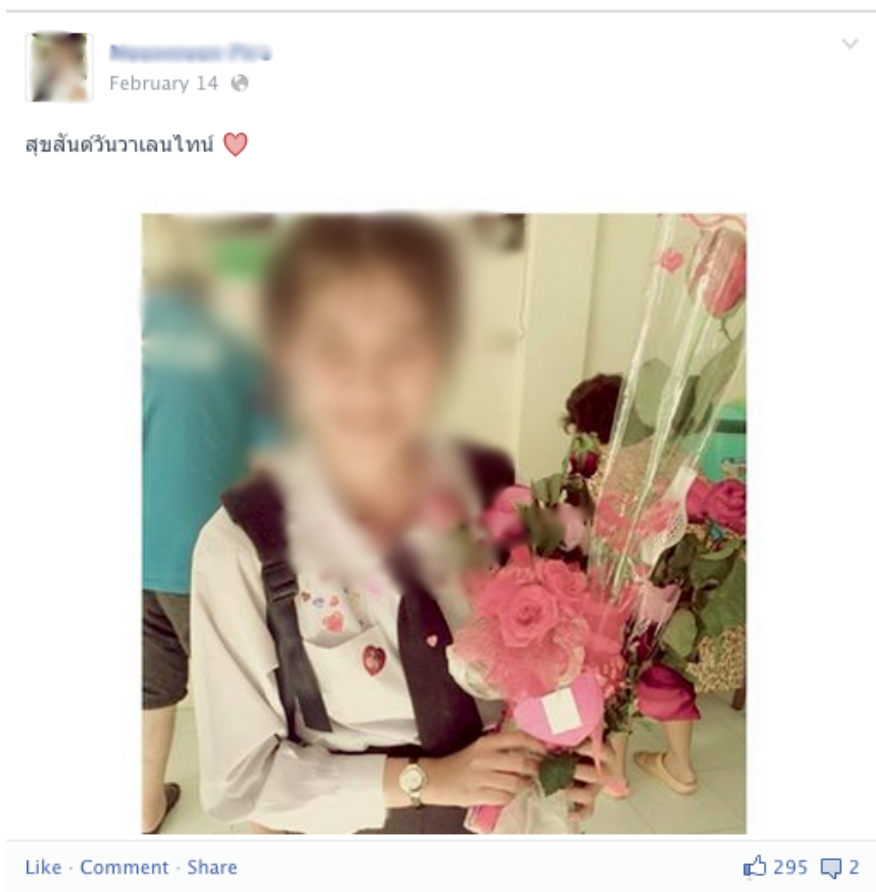


Figure 8. Friendly bell'az showing her Valentine's Day flowers.

In Figure 8, Friendly bell'az shows the flowers that she received from her boyfriend on Valentine's Day. She uses the Thai language in her Valentine's Day message and also includes

the heart shaped emoticon representing love. Her desire to be seen participating in the traditions of the event is clear through the flowers, stickers, and other visual representations of the holiday.

Attempts to align with event traditions impact language choice. During her individual interview, Double’ Iced was asked about Figure 8 shown above, and about her decision to share the image publicly on FB. Though the image was originally posted by her boyfriend, she wanted to “share” the image herself, meaning it would also become available to all of her friends as well. In this excerpt, she also discusses his decision to use English in the post (“Happy Valentine Day baby ♥”), and the relationship between English language use and the desire to participate in the traditions associated with this international holiday.

Interview excerpt 4

May H: Why did you decide to share this image?

Double’ Iced: Valentine’s Day was coming up and everyone on FB was posting about Valentine’s Day so we did this picture and I shared it. For Valentine’s Day you are supposed to be with you boyfriend or girlfriend so it was like a good picture to share for the day.

May H: Did all the people at school know you were a couple?

Double’ Iced: No, actually that is kind of another reason. I like to have people know that we are together as a couple and telling them on Valentine’s Day is nice.

May H: Why do you think he said “Happy Valentine’s Day” in English and not in Thai?

Double’ Iced: I don’t know. It just kind of sounds better in English. It is not really a Thai holiday is it? So we use English since it is an international holiday. Also, if you look at FB, this is just how everyone even in Thailand says it. It makes it more like we are celebrating the real day.

A couple of important points emerge from the interview discussion. Firstly, she is doing what she considers to be an appropriate Valentine’s Day activity, and one that she feels aligns

with the traditions associated with that day. At two points in the discussion she references what “everyone” else was doing on FB, and what people are “supposed to” do on that day. It seems part of her motivation for sharing the photos is rooted in her desire to participate in the Valentine’s Day event by taking part in the traditions associated with the holiday. From the interview, it also seems that she feels Valentine’s Day to be an appropriate day to publicly express her identity as part of a couple, and to intentionally make others aware of this.

The decision to use English in this posting is also of interest. Though Double’ Iced is only speculating about her boyfriend’s reasons, her comments really highlight the perceived role of language use in full event participation. She again points out that this is what “everyone, even in Thailand” is doing with respect to their language choices, but she goes further than this as well. She also points out that because Valentine’s Day isn’t originally a Thai holiday, and because they want to celebrate in an authentic manner, English is the logical choice in this case.

In another Valentine’s Day post shown as Figure 9 below, we can see teacher Wang Ping’s post to FB, and how it attempts to bring together several of the images from the day and the experiences with her students. The image illustrates well the types of activities that students and teachers participated in on that day, and the clear sense of enjoyment that many participants experienced. In all four of the images contained within Figure 9, the emphasis on hearts, flowers, and shirt decorating is quite apparent.



Figure 9. Wang Ping Valentine's Day images taken with several of her students.

In an interview conducted with Wang Ping shortly after, I asked her about the photo and the meaning of the day for her. She responded by talking about the cultural differences between China and Thailand with respect to Valentine's Day, and the enthusiasm that the students showed for the holiday.

Interview excerpt 5

Andy H: Tell me about this photo.

Wang Ping: It's from Valentine's Day. Valentines Day is crazy here. In China we celebrated it too but not so much like here. All day the students giving me flowers and stickers. My student help me to get these pictures and put on FB. They were all so cute! Even the boys were like little girls all day. It was really like one of the big days of all year for them, they all had to be part of it.

In this excerpt she echoes similar themes to those of Double' Iced earlier. In particular she expresses how students have a strong desire to participate and fully take part in the event itself. We also get the sense that she worked collaboratively with her students to get the photos together and posted, and it is clear she was very much included as a full participant in the day's activities as well.

The departure of Wang Ping. Wang Ping arrived at the school to teach in a program sponsored by the Chinese government and she stayed for 2 years. She taught a specific cohort of around 40 students and together they formed a strong bond with their teacher. She taught Chinese language courses, and also integrated a good deal of Chinese culture into her lessons and activities, including traditional and contemporary Chinese singing, calligraphy, and dance. Many Thai citizens are ethnically Chinese or have mixed Thai-Chinese ancestry, so the cultural connection is already quite strong.

Wang Ping was very popular with her students, and she often interacted with them socially outside of school. This helped to strengthen the bond between students and teacher, and also made her cohort of students more interested in learning about Chinese language and culture. Her departure from the school was a major event and it coincided with the end of the second semester of the year, as well as the end of the data collection phase of the present study. There were numerous student and teacher arranged events in the lead up to her departure including dinners, lunches, karaoke events, and various small parties. The days preceding her trip to the airport were quite emotional for many students and for some it was difficult to let her go. FB served as a platform for coordinating many aspects of Wang Ping's departure.

Although Wang Ping taught a limited number of students in only a single cohort of Mathayom 4, the impact of her departure went beyond only her students. Only six of the 22

students participating in the study were part of Wang Ping's Chinese cohort, but a total of 10 student-participants wrote or commented on Wang Ping's FB page during the course of data collection. All four of the teacher-participants wrote to Wang Ping as well, and all made partial or total use of English in their messages to her. Figure 10 shown below, shared on FB by one of the student participants in the study, clearly shows the fondness that her students have for her. In the photo, most of her entire cohort has surrounded her and they are singing a song after giving her some small gifts. The image was taken on Valentine's Day at the school, shortly before Wang Ping was scheduled to leave the school.



Figure 10. Wang Ping's farewell showing students singing to her.

Asked in an interview about the image above, Mini explained how she and others had felt that Valentine's Day might be one of the last times they would get to see Wang Ping.

Interview excerpt 6

May H: What was happening in this picture?

Mini: We thought Valentine's Day at school was going to be the last time we could all get together to be with laoshi before she left so we gave her presents and sang her a song. Everyone is so sad that she has to leave. It is such a cute picture!

In the interview excerpt, Mini uses the Chinese term "laoshi" meaning teacher as she talks about Wang Ping. This is a term of respect and many students in Wang Ping's cohort addressed her this way.

In a separate interview, Wang Ping confirmed the strong emotions associated with the event in general and with this image shown in Figure 10 in particular. Looking at the picture with her during the interview, it was clear that it was a powerful image for her and that she had fond memories of that day with her students. In her interview, Wang Ping said, "I love this picture with all them together to singing for me and . . . it was really funny but it make me cry at the end."

Language choices are determined by pedagogic intent and pragmatic need. Wang Ping also enjoyed drawing and was popular with the students for her quick and colorful artistic representations. On FB shortly before her departure, she posted a collection of images she had put together of her students. These are shown as Figure 11 below. Many of the images she created were accompanied by extended messages written in Chinese that were quite challenging for her students to understand but often were personal and specific notes to individuals.



Figure 11. Wang Ping's artistic representations of her students

In the follow up interview after posting these pictures, I asked Wang Ping about the work and about her choice of language to accompany the pictures. In the excerpt, she talks about her use of Chinese and the students' abilities to read the messages that accompany some of the images.

Interview excerpt 7

Andy H: Tell me about these pictures that you put on FB.

Wang Ping: I like to draw pictures for my students' books. These are . . . about going back to China and also some for graduation. I think they look funny together so the students like them I think.

Andy H: It looks like a lot of the writing is in Chinese. Can they read that?

Wang Ping: Yeah, a lot of writing is Chinese so the students have to really try to read it—they use dictionary a lot for this!—but that is ok since they learn too.

She makes clear here that the choice to use Chinese is intentional on her part, and it functions partially as a tool to motivate students to open dictionaries and work through the difficult language. This was a common choice that Wang Ping made on FB, often posting bilingually in

both English and Chinese, and making use of Thai whenever she felt confident. In Figure 12, Wang Ping is writing on FB about her packing and preparations to leave. She starts in Chinese then rewrites the entire utterance in English as well.

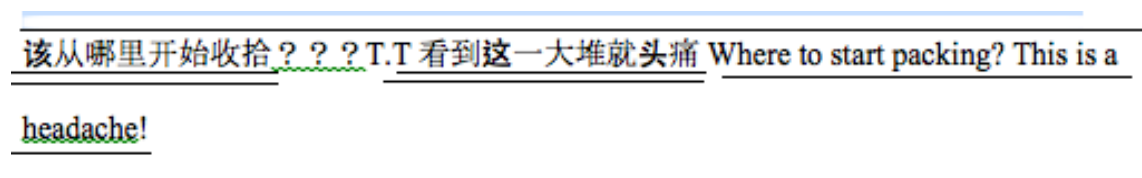


Figure 12. A bilingual FB posting from Wang Ping.

I discussed these choices with her afterwards during the second interview.

Interview excerpt 8

Andy H: Why did you use English and Chinese here?

Wang Ping: People that see my FB read English some and also there are Chinese people, and Thai too. I would like to write it in Thai but it is too hard for me so I just use the two languages I know OK. Is the English right?

Andy H: Yes it's perfect. But do you think your students understand it?

Wang Ping: Some do, the English. The Chinese . . . hard to read but they can try with a dictionary or use the English to help.

There appear to be two components at work here regarding her language selection on FB. The first is a pragmatic and communicative choice targeted at her diverse readers. She knows that there are native speakers of English, Chinese, and Thai that will likely read her post, and she wants to communicate with them. Writing in Thai is too challenging for her, so she writes in both English and Chinese to maximize the chances of comprehension for her readers. Secondly, this interview discussion also shows evidence of her continued and intentional use of Chinese on FB as a teaching tool for her students. She again points out the opportunity for readers to make use of dictionaries and to rely on their plurilingual resources to read the Chinese.

Aside from the emotional impact of Wang Ping's departure and her clear intention to make use of FB posts as language teaching opportunities, the other primary factor to emerge within this event is the often highly specific and pragmatic nature of the language interactions that took place. During her last few days and weeks at the school, Wang Ping was often organizing small events or gatherings with her students. This meant arranging times and places for meetings and communicating with large numbers of students about scheduling. Unsurprisingly, FB was the chosen venue for making these types of arrangements. Language choices were not straightforward however, nor did they follow the pattern outlined above with respect to her use of Chinese as a teaching tool. In these cases, Wang Ping seemed to rely more on English and her limited Thai writing skills to make arrangements. The following example is illustrative of this type of writing. Here she is letting students know that a party will take place at 8:00 pm at a restaurant with the English name "Backyard."

We meet at 20:00 @ Backyard. พบกันที่ "Backyard" อร่อย!!

Figure 13. Setting a date and time on FB.

The post uses mostly English but switches to Thai to repeat "meet at" and she also includes the Thai word "delicious" at the end of the utterance. In her interview we talked about this particular posting and what she was trying to accomplish with her language choices.

Interview excerpt 9

Andy H: So this has English and Thai . . .

Wang Ping: Yeah, to make sure they understand OK

Andy H: It seems clear, especially with the numbers for the time.

Wang Ping: Yeah, and the Thai just repeats the English I think, if my writing is OK!

Andy H: But why repeat the same thing in two languages?

Wang Ping: Maybe it helps some or is faster for them to read. I just want everyone knows where to go.

Andy H: And what is that at the end in Thai?

Wang Ping: Just “delicious” for fun. Makes everyone want to go!

Language choices here are both playful and pragmatic in nature. She is comfortable having fun with the Thai language, as seen in her use of “delicious” at the end, but also conscious of her primary goal, which is simply to get the information to people as clearly as possible. This relationship between functional and playful language can also be seen in Figure 14 shown below. In Figure 14, Wang Ping has found a student’s FB profile and added her as a friend on the site. This functional exchange of information led to lighthearted social interaction as well that also brought in other friends to the discussion. Another student includes a joking reference to “pretty teacher” asking her, “are you sure? hahaha,” and Wang Ping replies that she is pretty both on the inside and on the outside.



Figure 14. Pragmatic and playful language exchanges.

Thus, with respect to Wang Ping's language choices, we have to understand her decisions as embedded within the broader context of her departure event. She has three languages to work from within her linguistic repertoire, and varying degrees of proficiency in each. She is also aware of her potential readers' proficiencies in the various languages, as well as her underlying communicative intent for each specific utterance. When her intent is clearly pragmatic and communicative, we see evidence of greater reliance on a diversity of linguistic resources

including her attempts to use Thai effectively. There is also a pragmatic component to the joking and playful tone here at the end of the exchange. To be effective, the language of jokes needs to be clearly understood and she is making decisions throughout the discourse about how best to manage the comprehensibility of her utterances.

Harlem Shake videos. The Harlem Shake was an Internet meme that went viral in the first week of February, 2013. It took the form of an approximately 30 second video set to a portion of the song also called the “Harlem Shake” and originally created by the artist Baauer. At its height, almost 4000 Harlem Shake videos were uploaded to YouTube each day and the Harlem Shake reached over 1 billion views after only 40 days on YouTube ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harlem_Shake_\(meme\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harlem_Shake_(meme))).

Harlem Shake videos were remixed and shared virally on sites like YouTube and FB by everyone from celebrities, to sports teams, to small groups of friends, and the phenomenon was truly international, spreading quickly across social media sites in Asia, Europe, and North and South America. The trend spread quickly in Thailand as well, and participants in this study both shared and created videos, as well as commenting on videos produced by others. In data from the present study, the Harlem Shake appeared to be primarily of interest to students rather than teachers. Of the four teachers, only Wang Ping made reference to the Harlem Shake on FB. For students however, 18 of the 22 participants commented on or referenced the Harlem Shake in some way and two students worked together with friends not involved in the study and produced their own Harlem Shake video.

A couple of the early posts related to the Harlem Shake videos primarily served to spread awareness of the meme to friends and to let others know that they were aware of the global phenomenon. The three examples of posts shown in Figure 15 are all quite similar in nature. The

number “5” is pronounced “ha” in Thai so the repetition of the number is common text slang for laughter (55555 = hahahaha). In these examples, we see the use of “5” to show the laughter and humor, the exclamation points that represent excitement, and the English language in the phrase “Harlem Shake.”

อยากเต้น Harlem Shake !! 55555
harlem shake!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
Harlem shake 555555

Figure 15. Use of English, Thai, and emoticons related to Harlem Shake videos.

The use of English is significant in terms of participation in this event in part because of its immediacy and uniqueness to the participants. In some ways, the participation in this event by students shares similarities with the Valentine’s Day event discussed earlier. They are both international events experienced in and through a uniquely Thai context. English language use in each functions as a marker of one’s ability to fully participate in the events in their international sense. With Valentine’s Day, however, there are established traditions and activities that need to take place and students can feel comfortable and confident in their participation, even without the use of English. The Harlem Shake event was entirely unique, however, and students had not seen or heard anything about it before; they had no frame of reference or experience to work from. In order to learn about, and eventually to remix it within their own context, they were obligated to some extent to rely on their plurilingual competence.

Desire to participate in events can motivate learning. Two student participants in this study took part in the making of a Harlem Shake video of their own, a sample of which can be seen in the image below. The video was recorded at school, with students still in their school uniforms, giving a clear Thai context and flavor to their reinterpretation of the meme. The mask

being worn in the background and the particular postures and activities of the participants are all copied directly from the original Harlem Shake video.



Figure 16. Harlem Shake video capture.

In an interview afterwards, Thom As Heart discussed how and why they made the video. She also talks about what she feels made the video popular with her friends and peers at the school, and how she learned to create and edit the video and audio that she produced.

Interview excerpt 10

May H: Why did you make this video?

Thom: I saw on FB that people were writing about the Harlem Shake video but I didn't know what it was so I went on YouTube and watched it and read about it with my friends. We thought we could make one too since it was funny and not hard. We did it really fast with some friends at the school and then shared it on FB like all the other videos. Lots of people liked it! It got about 700 people to "like" the video and that is the most I have ever made.

May H: Why do you think so many people liked it on FB?

Thom: It's just funny. And it is like people are doing all over the world in America and other places like that so we wanted to try too.

May H: How did you learn what to do to make the video?

Thom: We didn't really do anything. We just watched a bunch of videos and copied what other people did, except that we were at our school. We copied the music the same but then just put our own video on it.

It is clear from the interview that the student was motivated primarily by her desire to take part in an event that was being simultaneously experienced all across the globe. As she also notes, the video performance generated more "likes" from FB friends than anything else she had ever posted.

The process that she describes for learning about and then reproducing the video is also worth noting. She was initially motivated to learn more because she recognized that people were sharing something on FB that she did not know about. This pushed her to YouTube to watch and read about the phenomenon. Her friends then decided on their own to learn how to reproduce the video and post their own interpretation on FB. This is a type of autonomous learning motivated by a desire to more fully participate in an event of significance to the individuals.

Birthdays. Birthdays have developed certain FB specific traditions in Thailand, the two most common being the quick "happy birthday" post and the birthday card. These of course mirror the face-to-face birthday activities common throughout the world in that one will often say "happy birthday" to friends and casual acquaintances alike, but only create cards for good friends and family members. Because of the inherently public nature of FB interactions however, it is easy for users to see and measure "likes," posts, and comments, and equally easy for these measurements to turn into proxy representations of popularity for young high school students.

Popularity and peer pressure motivate participation. The number of birthdays I witnessed during the data collection period all followed similar patterns on FB. The "happy

birthday” posts almost always involved the use of English and tended to look very much like the three examples given below in Figure 17.

hpbdd(:
happy birthday_jaaaaa
HBD.TO YOU.

Figure 17. Samples of typical birthday messages.

Several components were common. Firstly, abbreviations and various forms of “HBD” and “hpbdd” were frequently present. Also, emoticons representing smiling faces or winking eyes were quite common. Finally, these posts were generally all in English and exceedingly brief. All but one of the 22 participants in the study made birthday comments or said “happy birthday” to other students during data collection and all four of the teacher participants did as well. Taken together, participants produced 63 variations of “happy birthday or “hbd” during the study and all of these were either partially or exclusively in English.

For the student participants however, it was not the actual content of the messages that seemed to be important, but more the volume that they were concerned with. In an interview we asked Berry Aha Aha about the birthday a friend had had recently, and the response it generated on FB. In the excerpt, she explains the importance of birthdays on FB and the use of the “like” feature on the site in the social lives of her peers.

Interview excerpt 11

May H: So how about her birthday on FB?

Berry: Birthdays are important on FB and whenever there is a birthday it is like people fight to see how many “happy birthdays” they can get and how different and interesting they all are. It seems like the birthdays of FB keep getting bigger. Mine was last year and it wasn’t that much on FB but now everyone wants a big event on FB for their birthday, even if you don’t really know them you still write on their FB and say something.

May H: So do people count the “likes” and comments like that?

Berry: Yeah lots. And we tell people at school to go on FB to say “happy birthday” to them.

In this case, it appears that there is actual face-to-face peer-pressure put on others to participate in the FB birthday event. Birthday cards tend to be more elaborate on FB, but also often feature the use of English as well as emoticons. Figure 18 shows a happy birthday card sent to Z’ Spice with the message first in English then in Thai. It also includes a collection of pictures with decorative Latin orthography superimposed over the top.



Figure 18. Birthday greeting card.

Taken together, participation in the birthday events on FB appears more a matter of high school social pressure than any of the other events discussed thus far. English use is very common in birthday wishes, but its intent is primarily formulaic and not motivated by any

particular communicative need. This again highlights that the fact that context of the event has a significant impact on the nature and type of language use taking place on FB.

The issues of popularity and peer pressure also showed up outside the context of the birthday events as well. For example, in our group interview with Thom and Double', we talked about how they originally got started using FB, and how they learned to use the site in general. Their motivation to begin using the site came simply from friends and classmates who were already involved. Both students talked about how they observed friends using the site, slowly became involved themselves, then began to post content of their own.

Interview excerpt 12

May H: Most of you have been on FB for a year or more. How did you first learn how to use FB? Did someone teach you?

Thom: [laughing] Nobody taught me. I just, I had friends using it and they said I should do it to. So I made an account and just started reading other people. Then later I started writing and posting things of my own.

Double': Yeah, I was the same. At first I was kind of afraid to write anything because I didn't know how it worked or who would read it but I just waited awhile and read stuff then started to write.

The process appeared to be gradual one for both Thom and Double', but the initial motivation was through the involvement of friends.

Once they were on the site, students quickly began to pay close attention to "friendship counts" and the actual number of friends that people have on the site. FB tracks each person that adds you as a friend, and it displays this number clearly for all users to see. In the social world of high school, these numbers can become quite important. When we interviewed Mini and Look, we talked with them about friendship on FB and the role of numbers in keeping track of popularity. In the following excerpt, Mini and Look seem to agree that no number is too large

with respect to friendship counts on FB. They also make it clear that they are using these numbers as measures of the popularity of their peers.

Interview excerpt 13

May H: So do you look at how many friends other people have?

Look: Yes, I like to know how many they have.

Mini: Yes, we do, we like to know.

May H: Why? Why do you want to know the number of friends?

Look: I think it shows how many friends they have. It is like they are popular if they have a lot of friends. If they have just a few friends then maybe they are not as much fun.

Mini: Yes, I want to see if they have lots friends.

May H: What do you think is a high or low number of friends?

Look: 1000 is important. Some people try to get it and keep asking for more friends to get to 1000.

May H: Could you ever see a profile with too many friends? And think it is bad they have so many?

Look: No, more friends are better.

Mini: No, even like 2000 is great.

Clearly one of the motivating factors for participation is the use of friendship counts as a marker of social status and popularity. Look clearly says that students will actively ask others to become their friend just to reach a certain threshold number.

Event participation can be viewed as a continuum from global to local. When analyzing the data from these four events, it becomes clear that certain differences exist in patterns of language usage. One way to highlight these differences is to look at participation and language choices in events that can be considered global or international in nature, versus those

that are more specifically localized. Of the four events mentioned here, it is the departure of Wang Ping that can most clearly be considered a local event. Valentine's Day and the Harlem Shake videos on the other hand, while obviously being adapted to local context and tradition, are fundamentally about participation in events that are beyond the local context of Wangklaikangwon School. The birthday events appear to occupy a kind of middle ground, where the birthday tradition is of course an international one, student participants in particular seem motivated to post birthday greetings largely through localized peer pressures and social dynamics at the school itself. With this in mind it is then possible to view these four events on a continuum of participation from the global to the local, and to analyze language choices at various points along this continuum.

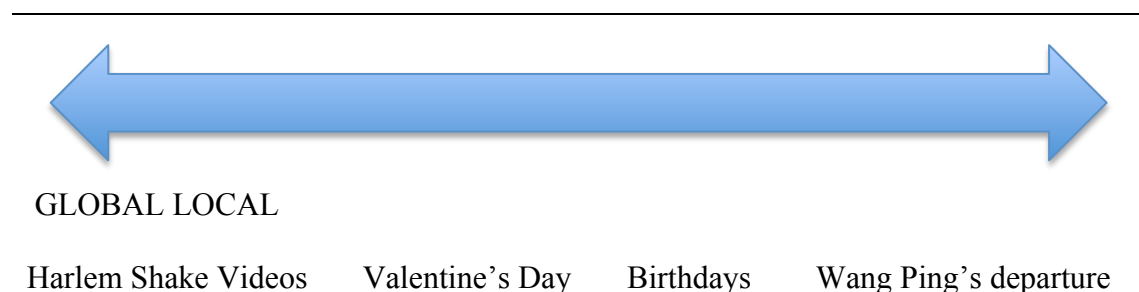


Figure 19. The continuum of event participation from the global to the local.

In terms of Wang Ping's departure and language use at the local level, we have seen student and teacher participants making choices across three languages and doing so for reasons motivated both out of functional and communicative need, as well as pedagogic intent. On the one hand, Wang Ping was their Chinese teacher, and she has clearly stated on a couple of occasions that her decisions to use Chinese in her FB posts and writings were motivated partly out of her desire to encourage her students to read Chinese. When she said in her interview for example, "the Chinese hard to read but they can try with a dictionary or use the English to help," she is clearly hinting at the intentionality of her choice to use two languages and her underlying

pedagogic motivation. There is also data to support student uptake and reciprocity in this regard. It was not uncommon for students to message Wang Ping on FB directly using Chinese either partially or fully. Figure 20 shows a student named Fah asking Wang Ping if she missed her on that day. She asks the question using the Latin orthography but in the Chinese language. Wang Ping's follow up parallels Fah's language choices exactly, which has the function of encouraging the use of Chinese, but also facilitating communication since it may be more difficult for this student to read the Chinese characters.



Figure 20. Multilingual interactions between Wang Ping and a student.

As Wang Ping's departure neared however, the language exchanges with students tended to become more functional and pragmatic in nature. Much of the FB interaction in the last few

days had to do with scheduling small local events like dinners and parties. As Wang Ping pointed out in one her interviews, these interactions mostly had to do with the fact that she “just wants everyone know where to go” for the event. For Wang Ping, this frequently meant a greater use of Thai in her attempts to communicate with students. In this example, Wang Ping is discussing arrangements for her travel to the airport in Bangkok with one of her students. The times and dates are key details here, so much of the interaction is in Thai.



Figure 21. Pragmatic language choices relating to airport departure time.

One student even comments on the fact that she is happy to see that the Thai language is no longer a barrier to communication with her teacher. Wang Ping uses Thai to the extent that her abilities will allow, then switches to English when she does not know how to write the Thai word for “morning.”

Overall then, language use related to Wang Ping’s departure has the primary feature of being functionally motivated. When she was acting as their teacher she tended to make language choices that in part had to do with her pedagogic intent to push Chinese into their lives as much as possible and encourage their reading of Chinese. When it came to the specific arranging of events however, Wang Ping adopted a greater use of Thai and also relied on English when her Thai was insufficient.

The pragmatic and functional use of language centered around Wang Ping’s departure sits in stark contrast to the nature of English use in particular when we look at both the Valentine’s Day event as well as the Harlem Shake videos. In these events, English use appears to take a more symbolic role. There is little functional value in the use of English commonly seen between students on Valentine’s Day (see, for example, Figure 7 shown previously). In this case, English is serving a symbolic role designed to highlight the student participation in the broader global event. They feel that they are more fully able to participate in the event through their use of English, and this language choice also distances them symbolically from the local manifestations of the holiday taking place at the school and all around them. Again, although Valentine’s Day is an extremely popular holiday in Thailand, participants in this study appear to be making conscious language choices to align themselves and their friends with the holiday at the global level. This is also evident not just through their language choices but through their

participatory practices as well, for example the flower deliveries to the school and the sharing of chocolates.

The student participation in the Harlem Shake videos and their use of language around this event are in some ways similar to Valentine's Day. In both cases students are motivated to participate in an international event, and they bring local flavor and context to the event. Almost all FB posts related to the Harlem Shake videos used the words "Harlem Shake" in English. However, this video event differed in one key way from Valentine's Day. The Harlem Shake videos were a completely unique and unprecedented phenomenon, and Thai students had no background knowledge relating to this event. Many saw and understood it as a global phenomenon sweeping across FB and other social media sites, but not all students would have had the language resources necessary to learn about and recreate the videos on their own. In this way, plurilingual proficiency acted as a partial gatekeeper to full participation in this event. Students were not able to access information solely in Thai about the event because it happened with such immediacy. The primary relevant sources of information were YouTube videos and explanations in English. In the following excerpt from an interview, Thom, one of the girls who produced the Harlem Shake video, makes reference to this point. She explains the process of learning to make the video and accessing the necessary information in English.

Interview excerpt 14

May H: When you wanted to learn about the Harlem Shake, did you read information in English or Thai?

Thom: It was only in English. There was no Thai since no one In Thailand knew about it. But we didn't really read much. Mostly we just looked on the Internet and watched video examples of other people doing it.

She says that she did not read much, but she still had to use her English language resources to navigate the Internet, find appropriate sites, and extract the relevant information that would ultimately allow her and her peers to fully participate in the Harlem Shake event.

Once the distinction between participation in these two global events is brought into clearer focus, the role and status of English can be seen more clearly. For Valentine's Day, student participants had a template to work from; they had knowledge of the event, and clear information about how they were supposed to participate and what role English was supposed to play. Valentine's Day messages partially in English allowed them to participate in the global event but in a structured and safe way, with pre-established guidelines for participation. With the Harlem Shake videos on the other hand, no template for participation existed, and full access was therefor limited to students who were able to search for and make use of the necessary information in English. In both cases English served as a tool for symbolic alignment with global events, but in the Harlem Shake event, English served a secondary role as gatekeeper to full participation.

The use of English for birthday wishes seems to occupy a kind of middle ground between the global nature of events like the Harlem Shake Videos, and Valentine's Day and the localized event of Wang Ping's departure. Use of English for birthday wishes was highly structured. As mentioned above, almost every birthday greeting by participants in this study made use of English, and frequently it was done through abbreviations and emoticons. As with Valentine's Day, there is no functional need to use English in this context. The Thai language can serve quite well for birthday greetings. It appears that "hbd" or "hpbd" as used on FB have become established formats for birthday wishes. When asked about this fact, MC Blur had little response, other than to say that this is just how it is on FB.

Interview excerpt 15

May H: Why did you say “happy birthday” as hbd!! and not use the Thai words?

MC Blur: This is . . . I don’t know . . . Nobody says happy birthday in Thai on FB. I guess I just did what everyone does.

An interview with the teacher Yingluck produced a very similar response. She says that she does not fully understand why the “hbd” abbreviation is so common, other than to suggest that it is “more like FB language.”

Interview excerpt 16

Andy H: So it seems like most of the birthday messages are in English, like “hbd!” for example. Why don’t your Thai students say happy birthday to you in Thai.

Yingluck: Uhhh . . . That is always like that, I don’t know. Like they don’t think like English. This is more like FB language.

It is interesting that in Yingluck’s response, she seems to suggest that people are not even really thinking of the quick abbreviations as English, but more as a kind of FB language itself. Thus it appears that the seeming use English for birthday wishes on FB really has very little to do with English at all. Mostly, participants are following a pre-established format for expressing birthday greetings in the digital context of FB. Although birthdays are clearly a global event, they do not function as a shared or collective global experience in the same way as Valentine’s Day or the Harlem Shake videos did. As discussed earlier, students are motivated at the local level of the high school to build up a large number of public birthday greetings on FB as a measurement of popularity. For these reasons, the birthday events appear to occupy a middle space on the continuum between global and local events.

The four events discussed all provide participants with differing social and pragmatic contexts for their language choices. These contexts can be seen as existing on a continuum from

the global to the local, and language use within each context varies depending where they are positioned on this continuum. Figure 22 summarizes the four events, their positioning on the global-local continuum, and the specific nature of language use within each.

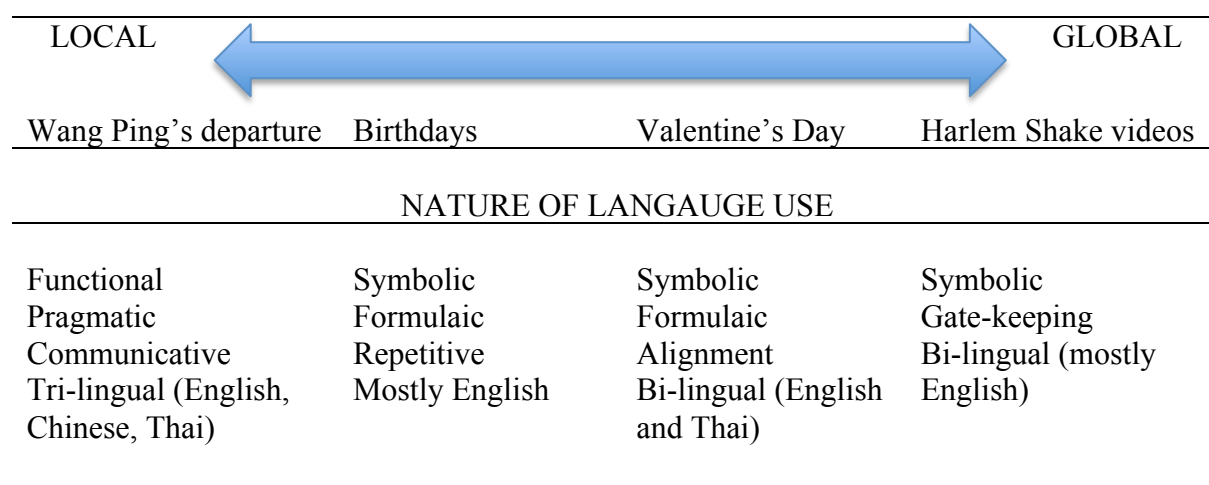


Figure 22. Language use along global-local continuum.

Though there is much overlap across categories, Figure 22 helps to highlight some of the general distinctions in language use along the global-local continuum and to show the perceived role of English within each of the categories.

FB Participation Through Plurilingual and Multimodal Language Usage

Data presented in this study shows consistent and diverse evidence of both plurilingual and multimodal language use. In terms of the FB discourse, these have been my two primary conceptual tools of analysis throughout the study. Both components warrant discussion in some detail, so the following section is divided into two parts. First I look at plurilingualism, and the participants' willingness to move across a range of languages as the context dictates. Next, I present evidence for multimodal language use, primarily through a look at the sharing of video and still images on the site, and the meanings embedded within these images.

“We use whatever language:” Diverse evidence for plurilingual competence. Many of the discourse samples presented thus far can be understood to be plurilingual in nature. We have seen significant evidence of student and teacher participants moving across a range of languages in their interactions. Sometimes these movements are the natural and almost subconscious result of interlocutors working together to negotiate meaning in the most transparent and practical way possible. In other cases, participants can be seen to be actively borrowing the linguistic features of a given language so as to align themselves with traditions or events associated with that language.

In Figure 23 below, I provide a specific example of plurilingualism at work in an interaction between Wang Ping and one of her students named Bom. In the exchange, initiated by Bom, we can see the Latin orthography being used alongside a range of emoticons. The mixture of languages at work in this exchange is also important to look at in detail.



Figure 23. Evidence of plurilingual language competence.

In the first turn, Bom says “wo ko ru na ni love wo makk ni ko bok wo tuk wan ><.” Within this utterance, the boy has mixed Chinese, English, and Thai into a single and coherent message. Taken together, it roughly translates as, “I know that you love me very much, you tell me everyday.” The words “wo” and “ni” are Chinese for “I” and “you” respectively. “Love” is rendered in English and the remainder of the utterance is in Thai. Wang Ping, who has a fairly limited proficiency in Thai, does understand the communicative intent and responds in Thai as well with “Chai” meaning “yeah” or “yes.” She follows this with the emoticon heart images that she borrows from Bom’s first utterance. This same image is again utilized by the student in the

final turn who says “goodnight” to his teacher with “goodnight” in English, “naka” as the discourse marker in Thai, and the rest of his nickname for her in Thai as well.

The emoticons also play an important role in this and many exchanges presented in the current chapter. Emoticons essentially function as textual representations of oral discourse features. They convey emotion in a way that is direct and transparent. Emoticon usage here represents an important component of these participants’ plurilingual competencies. Clear and transparent emoticons can ease the information burden when interlocutors are shifting across languages so quickly, and working in languages where they possess limited proficiency. In Figure 23, the heart images are used throughout the interaction and serve to reinforce the tone of the interaction. This is also true of the smiling face, textual emoticon used in the first utterance. The textual image of two sideways V’s is meant to represent the squinting eyes of a smile, and to convey a tone of happiness and humor along with the message. Thus in many digital contexts, plurilingual competence is also about understanding the complex array of emotions that can be embedded within emoticons.

Another example of plurilingualism at work in participant discourse can be seen in Figure 24. This example, though less sophisticated than the figure above, touches on similar themes. This exchange is taken from two students interacting with each other on Valentine’s Day. The entire exchange is done using the Latin orthography but emoticons and Thai discourse markers also feature as well. These are all quite common features for native Thai speakers in their interactions on FB.

happy valentine day :)))
Thx na ka ><'

Figure 24. Use of English and emoticons in Valentine’s Day messages between students.

The initial expression of “Happy Valentine’s Day” is followed by the emphatic emoticon showing a smiling face. The “thank you” response also features an emoticon. In this case we see two squinting eyes and a single teardrop in the corner. The communicative intent here is similar to the smiling face in the first utterance, essentially to show happiness. The addition of the teardrop simply represents laughing or smiling so much that tears begin to flow. The “na” and “ka” are both highly prevalent discourse markers used in Thai and here borrowed into the English expressions. They mark politeness and gender respectively, and Thai L1 writers face difficulty writing in English partly because they are uncomfortable with the perceived level of abruptness in the language. The use of the Thai “na” and “ka” emerges naturally here, and actually serves to heighten the fluency level of the exchange between the two native Thai speakers.

The plurilingual competence of the two Thai interlocutors is clear here. They have used the Latin orthography and relied primarily on English and emoticons to convey their message. Overall, because this exchange between two Thai individuals is embedded within the Valentine’s Day event, and because, as was shown earlier, participants may make language decisions based on their desire to participate in this international holiday, the English choices here serve to highlight the complex role of L2 and sometimes L3 usage in diverse contexts and events. In the discussion of plurilingualism however, it is important to distinguish the participants’ motivations for choosing English in this context (to align themselves with the macro discourse of Valentine’s Day) from their ability to make fluent and natural use of two or more languages. The latter is the marker of their plurilingual competence, and it is this competence that allows them to fully participate in the Valentine’s Day event.

In our interview with Bom, we discussed the exchange shown in Figure 23. I was interested to discuss his motivations for alternating between languages and mixing features of diverse languages into a single utterance. It is interesting that in the interview excerpt presented here, Bom does not really seem to notice that he has used three different languages together. The excerpt begins with my wife asking Bom to explain the first utterance shown in Figure 23. She did this because we were hoping to lead into a discussion of language choice, but also because neither my wife nor I actually understood the utterance in its entirety.

Interview excerpt 17

- May H: The first line here [point at the first line of his utterance from Figure 3, can you explain what this says?
- Bom: “What it says?” Why?
- May H: I can’t understand it . . .
- Bom: But . . . why?
- May H: What language is it?
- Bom: Oh its . . . Thai, right? And English I guess.
- May H: What is the first word?
- Bom: Oh, that is “I” in Chinese.

Bom is using three different languages in this utterance, but he takes time and prompting in order to realize that this is the case. His language mixture is a natural and fluent enough process that he struggles to see it for what it is. This is an example of a student demonstrating strong plurilingual competence, but he is entirely unaware of the communicate asset that he possesses.

A bit later in the same interview we asked Bom about how he and Wang Ping were deciding which language to use in their exchange. We pointed out to Bom that he and his teacher

were not actually talking about which language to use, so we wanted to know how the decision got made.

Interview excerpt 18

May H: When you write FB messages to your teacher, you use different languages. How do you decide which language to use?

Bom: I use whatever she wants.

May H: Does she tell you to write in English or Chinese?

Bom: No, not like that. We use whatever language. I don't really think about it. I guess I just do whatever is natural.

In my view, the final comments that are the most telling here. Bom says, “We use whatever language,” and “I just do whatever is natural.” Bom in some cases was even unaware of the language mixing taking place. Both of these comments get at the fluency and ease with which these participants are able to employ their plurilingual repertoires and move across diverse languages within the context of single exchanges.

Multimodal FB discourse: Pictures are “part of how we talk too.” As was the case with the previous presentation of plurilingual data, many of the data samples presented in this chapter are multimodal in nature as well. And, again similar to the presentation of plurilingualism, it is important to see multimodal competence as a facilitator of full participation in the various discourse events taking place on FB. The Harlem Shake videos are a good example of this. Students who chose to participate in this event had to leverage their multimodal competence in both receptive and productive ways. Initially the videos were viewed and interpreted through the “viral video” framework. Thai students first needed to understand the videos themselves, and in particular the sociocultural context of their production, before later attempting to produce something similar on their own. The Harlem Shake video produced by

participants in this study, filmed on campus with students still in their uniforms, shows evidence of sophisticated multimodal competence. In reinterpreting the video, the students demonstrated both their technical skills with video production and editing, as well as their ability to embed meaning and a sense of identity into the video itself.

It was still images however, much more so than videos that constituted the primary evidence for multimodal language use on FB. Every one of the 22 students participating in this study shared more than 10 images on FB during the data collection phase of the study. Often these images were left to stand on their own; it was understood by the author that the image conveyed sufficient information so as not to need textual commentary. This was true when Wang Ping shared her drawings of students on FB (see figure 11). She did not comment on the images, because she knew that students would understand both the images themselves, as well as their communicative intent. This was also true of many posts “announcing” new relationships at school. An image of new couple, seen together for the first time on campus, easily but subtly conveys the relationship status, without the need for words.

Another good example of multimodal language use can be seen in Figure 25 below. In the figure, Bom has posted a picture of his face with the accompanying message, “The most beautiful view is the one I share with you.” The face is blurred for anonymity, but he is showing an extremely unusual facial expression and comments are responding to this fact. Bom also made playful and subtle use of English in his own comment, with the “beautiful view” in this case being the image of his own face. He concludes with the double smiling face emoticon to show the intended humor of his comment. The follow up comments mix English, Thai, Filipino, and a range of emoticons as well, and are all variations on how “cute” the photo is.



| The most beautiful view is the one I share with you. :))

Like · Comment · March 2 at 1:44pm · 🌐

👍 [\[Profile\]](#) and 42 others like this.

[\[Profile\]](#) หรือน่ารักคับ
See Translation
March 2 at 8:00pm · Like · 🍷 2

[\[Profile\]](#) Oh da da da da ก็ ok na
See Translation
March 2 at 9:33pm · Like · 🍷 2

[\[Profile\]](#) cute
March 2 at 11:59pm · Like · 🍷 1

[\[Profile\]](#) hahha cute!!
Tuesday at 4:22pm · Like · 🍷 1

[\[Profile\]](#) HAHAHA ^^ ,, mmm musta
naman ka mae ?? Davao ka Skol ?
Tuesday at 4:33pm · Like · 🍷 2

Figure 25. An example of multimodal communication on FB.

The use of the image to convey a message makes this a clear example of multimodal discourse, but the way that so much of the discourse turns on the interplay between the text and image makes this a particularly compelling example of multimodal language use. Individuals

would not be able to participate in this exchange without the ability to “read” the image, and to understand the relationship between the image itself and the textual comments.

Through interview data, it also seems that participants were to some degree aware of the role that visual images were playing in communication on FB. One interview with Berry highlights this fact quite nicely. In the interview, we have asked Berry why she uses FB. She responds that she mostly uses it for social reasons, in order to keep up to date on what is happening at school and what friends are up to generally. We then ask her whether there is something different about the information she gets on FB as compared to her face-to-face conversations with friends.

Interview excerpt 19

May H: Why do you use FB?

Berry: I use it to stay connected to my friends and to know what is going on.

May H: You mean what is going on in their lives or with the school or what?

Berry: Well, on FB you get to know everything, usually too much! But I like to know what is going on at the school and talk to my friends about it.

May H: Do you get information on FB you couldn't get by just talking face-to-face?

Berry: I think it is different because of all the pictures and videos and stuff.

May H: Uh-huh, how is it different?

Berry: Well on FB we talk about lots of stuff in the school but we also share pictures of people and that is part of how we talk too.

Berry's explanation that images and videos are “part of how we talk too” is central to her understanding of multimodal discourse. She points out specifically that FB offers a new communicative channel in the form of videos and the visual image. She is clearly aware of the potential for images to convey meaning in a manner equivalent to face-to-face discussion.

In conclusion, I feel it is possible to view multimodal FB participation as a bridging mechanism between virtual and physical spaces. Real world events impact the virtual world of FB on a continuous basis and photo sharing is perhaps the most obvious representation of this. A photo taken in the physical context of a school classroom and shared in the virtual context of FB is functioning as a kind of bridge between the two spaces. As comments are written and responded to, the photo's meaning and impact begin to shift as it becomes a kind of digital artifact of a real world experience. My view, and the view that is carried through into this study, is that FB needs to be understood as a site and context in its own terms. It is neither a wholly virtual approximation of a real-world community nor is it entirely cut off from real-world events and circumstances. Like the millions of photos shared everyday on the site, FB acts as a conduit between the two the virtual and physical worlds of its participants. Individuals wishing to fully participate in the world of FB need to more than traditional print literacy skills. They also need to be able to work with and manipulate the various multimodal literacies associated with sounds, videos, and still images within this discourse context.

FB Participation Through Pedagogic Potential

We have already seen evidence of Wang Ping's conscious efforts to push students' Chinese reading abilities, and to encourage their dictionary use through her writing and posts on FB. In doing this, she is pushing the link between FB usage and pedagogic intentionality on the part of the teacher. She is aware that FB can function as a site of authentic language exchange between teachers and students, and also that teachers can make active use of FB to encourage students to interact with the target language which in her case is Chinese. This section of the study will probe the issue of pedagogy on FB in more detail. First, I will consider the case of

Bee, the only teacher to make active and conscious efforts to utilize FB as a course management tool. Next I will compare the viewpoints of Yingluck and Wang Ping, and their understanding of both teacher to student interaction on the site, as well as the use of FB as a language learning tool for student participants in this study.

Bee's efforts and struggles to utilize FB for pedagogical purposes. At the time of the study, Bee was a 25-year-old Thai teacher of English with almost 3 years of teaching experience. Like many people her age in Thailand, Bee was an active and daily user of FB with over 1000 friends, many of whom were current and former students. Through my many interactions with Bee, I knew that, similar to Wang Ping, she was aware that FB was a valid space for accessing and practicing authentic target language. In an interview, Bee told me that students often came to her for help, asking about where they could go to learn more English and learn it more quickly. I asked her what she recommended and she explained her opinion about the value of FB for language learning.

Interview excerpt 20

Andy H: So what do you say when students ask you this?

Bee: I usually say them about FB. I write English on FB so they can read. They also see celebrities and music and watch videos, whatever they want. They maybe read and write English everyday when they want.

Andy H: But how do they know where to look and find English?

Bee: I show. Or they talk to friends and see on friends' FB. Everything is shared on FB so is easy to see what your friends do and learn like that.

Clearly Bee understands the potential for FB to help students gain access to authentic language use. In fact, her efforts with FB went beyond this; she was also actively using FB as a course management platform for at least two of her English courses.

The use of FB as a course management tool is a relatively unexplored phenomenon. Universities and even high schools in many countries are now moving towards courses that are either blended or conducted entirely in online environments. Many instructors are familiar with online course management tools such as Moodle or Blackboard. These platforms assist with tracking enrollment, managing assignments, grading, and linking to online course content. They have become fully integrated into the learning experiences of millions of teachers and students around the world. To date however, Thailand has yet to adopt online course management tools with any regularity. This is primarily due to two factors. First, as a developing country, many educational institutions outside of Bangkok do not have access to the resources and technology necessary to make this happen. Secondly, Thailand is still very much a paper-based culture, where all student documentation must be physically signed, tracked, and stamped by numerous individuals.

These factors do not mean that there is not a perceived need for online course management however, and for Bee, FB has begun to fill this role. For example, Bee teaches English to all 240 students in Mathayom 4 as well as the 240 students in Mathayom 5. Paper-based tracking of assignments, test scores, and attendance for large numbers of students such as this takes up a majority of most teachers' work time in Thailand. It also decreases the likelihood that students will receive personal attention and encourages poor homework practices such as copying and lack of attention to details in the work. Due to administrative constraints within the school and the continued reliance on paper-based systems, it is not possible for teachers such as Bee to completely move their course management processes online. She has begun, however, to use FB as a supplemental course management tool in her day-to-day teaching practices.

The “groups” feature of FB has been of central importance to Bee in her management of students on the site. Groups allow Bee to control access and maintain privacy by only allowing enrolled students into FB groups designated for each of the classes she teaches. At the time of research, Bee was still only experimenting with the process and had not yet set up groups for all of her courses. In our interview, I asked her about how this was working in practice and what she was doing with the groups. She explained to me that the FB groups allow for privacy and teacher control over who is able to see what in terms of posts and comments.

Interview excerpt 21

Andy H: So you have groups set up for all of your classes or just some?

Bee: Just two right now. But next semester I use all my classes.

Andy H: How do the students get into the group?

Bee: In class I tell them. Then they go home and ask on FB to join and I get notice on FB and add them if they are in the class.

Andy H: You have about 1000 FB friends but in the group . . . ?

Bee: Is just the students in the class so it is private to them. Then when I post like about assignment then only they see it.

Groups can be configured on FB in various ways but clearly they have the potential to function as a supplemental, online space for peer interaction and course management issues.

As a vast repository of authentic language in use, as well as diverse multi-media resources, FB seems an obvious choice for educators wishing to engage student interests and meet them on their own terms. Many possible student assignments exist making use of these resources. Students could be asked, for example, to comment on a linked article, create and upload their own videos, or even simply write personal introductions for the class to read. The possibilities are almost endless. This is a fact that Bee is aware of, but she is also struggling with

administrative concerns and the reliance on more traditional assignment types at the school. We discussed her struggles at length in our interview.

Interview excerpt 22

Andy H: What are assignments that you give on FB?

Bee: I have to give regular journal writing assignments to the students but on FB I ask them to do others.

Andy H: Like what?

Bee: We study grammar so I found a website for learning grammar and asked students to see it and practice. And in class we learned about airplane travel but no students go on airplanes so I showed a Youtube video on FB and told them to watch it and ask questions.

Andy H: But the students don't have to do these things, right? They are just extra help for them and not the actual assignments where you grade them, is that right?

Bee: Yeah, I want to give assignments and grade them on FB but the school says we must have the writing journal work only for the assignments.

Bee is struggling with an intractable administrative system, and with her own lack of agency within that system. She would prefer to move away from the traditional, paper-based model of homework and journal writing, but she is unable to do so in a meaningful way. Bee is a young teacher and she has, for the most part, grown up with social media. She sees FB as a natural extension of the learning environment, and she recognizes ways in which the site may facilitate student engagement and language learning. Further in the same interview, I asked if she thought FB assignments would work better than paper-based assignments. She also explained to me her view of the value of FB given that students are likely to check-in on the site numerous times each day.

Interview excerpt 23

Andy H: You think FB assignments would work better?

Bee: Uh huh, lots better. Easier for me to see and check, and easier for the students, and they will be happy and fun to do it, and not bored and just copy other journals like they do now.

Andy H: That's too bad. But you said you thought FB was really helpful too, how?

Bee: Well . . . easy to remind people and contact people. Everyone is on FB so I can send remind that we have a test next week or assignment is due and then they don't forget. I put the review material on FB for the test and not print it and that is easy and many students "like" it.

Andy H: They click "like" for test review material [laughing]?

Bee: Yes! And said thank you to me on FB and in class.

These interview excerpts highlight both the affordances and constraints inherent in Bee's attempts to work with and integrate new technology into a traditional educational context. On the one hand, she is being blocked from fully taking advantage of FB as a course management platform because the school wishes to continue administering and grading assignments as it has always done in the past. Bee feels that FB offers the potential to simplify the process, and at the same time better engage with the students, but administrative concerns have prevented this. On the other hand, she is seeing and taking advantage of the simple fact that FB has the attention of most all of her students each and every day. She is able to send quick reminders to students with relatively high degree of certainty that they will be seen. She is also able to provide exam review materials to students, and she has seen evidence that students appreciate support of this type. And, for students that are interested and motivated, Bee provides links to other resources and opportunities to extend coursework and content outside the confines of the traditional classroom.

In interviews, we also talked to students about Bee's use of FB for pedagogic purposes. We wanted to see the pedagogic intentionality from the point of view of the students. In the previous excerpt, Bee mentions that students would sometimes "like" review materials on FB. In one group interview, we asked students specifically about Bee using FB, and about how the

students responded to this. We also discussed with them the extent to which they engaged with the material that Bee was sharing on the site, and how they felt about writing assignment on FB versus more traditional, journal-based assignments.

Interview excerpt 24

May H: Do you mind your teacher [referring to Bee] using FB?

Bom: No, lots of teachers use FB.

Clap: It's fine.

Berry: Yeah.

May H: She shares links to websites a lot where you can go and study English, do you try these out?

Berry: She does this a lot but I don't really look at them.

Bom: I did but it was all English and I couldn't really understand anything.

May H: Do you think it is helpful to do English assignments and writing on FB?

Berry: I think the writing and homework is better in paper [in their journal].

Bom: Yeah, I don't really want to try to study English on FB. I just like to use it for my friends and stuff.

The views of these students seem at odds with those of Bee. First of all, they suggest that they do not really look at the materials and websites that Bee shares. They mention that these sites were all in English, so they were difficult for them to utilize. They also state that they actually prefer traditional writing in a journal to writing on FB.

In our interview with Mini however, she seemed to express the opposite opinion to that of Bom and Berry. When we asked Mini why she used FB, she responded with both social and academic reasons. She said that FB enabled her to keep up to date with friends, but also that she

could check assignments from the teacher, or get homework or assignment information from friends.

Interview excerpt 25

May H: Why do you use FB?

Mini: I always know what my friends are doing and what is happening at school and stuff. When I am at home or something, FB is a lot easier than calling on the phone to get information. Even with teachers and assignments and stuff, I can get information on FB or a friend can tell me about the assignment.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there are conflicting views from the perspectives of the students on the usefulness of FB as a tool to enhance classroom learning. Mini seems to value having the homework and assignment information available to her, whereas Bom and Berry seem less enthusiastic.

Overall, we can see FB potentially functioning both as a linguistic resource for language students and as a tool for course management. Its potential is of course bounded, at least in part, by contextual and institutional constraints. In Bee's case, these are very real factors that she is struggling with in her attempts to implement FB as a tool for course management and language learning. Although students are clearly making heavy use of FB on a day-to-day basis, it is not clear whether or not they are encouraged by Bee's attempts to utilize the site as an extension of the school's learning context.

Yingluck and Wang Ping: contrasting views on FB usage by teachers. At the time of the study, Wang Ping was 24 years old, and Yingluck was 40. Of the four teachers, they represent the greatest disparity in both age and teaching experience. Yingluck is also a native speaker of Thai, whereas Wang Ping is a native speaker of Chinese. In interviews about their FB usage, and in particular their engagement with students on FB, they also show sharp differences.

Wang Ping, who is closer in age to her students, takes on much more of a “friend” role in her social interactions with student on FB, and in the face-to-face context of the school. This chapter has provided a good deal of examples of the types of content that Wang Ping shared on the site. Her interactions with students were often playful, friendly, and meant to engage with them on a social level. She often shared pictures of herself in social situations, as well as images of herself together with students, making her appear as a member of their social community. In one of my interviews with Wang Ping, I discussed with her the types of interactions she had with students on FB, as well and the nature of the content that she shared. Generally, she seemed quite comfortable with her level of self-disclosure on the site. Having her students as readers did not seem to act as a filtering mechanism for her. In fact, she appeared to embrace the social nature of her interactions with students.

Interview excerpt 26

Andy H: You share a lot of photos and information on FB. Do you mind the students reading all of this?

Wang Ping: No . . . well . . . I think some about the writing and pictures. I know they read but I don’t mind most.

Andy H: Would you share different things if the students weren’t there on your FB?

Wang Ping: No. If my family wasn’t there!

Andy H: You have family on FB too?

Wang Ping: Yes, my aunt and uncle and my aunt call my mom a lot.

Interviewer: But for the students . . .

Wang Ping: No, I don’t think much. It is good they know me. It make we have more friendly experience.

At the end of the excerpt, Wang Ping says, “It is good that they know me.” In my observations of Wang Ping’s social interactions with her students, both on FB and in the school, I would suggest

that she was actively and consciously working to break down traditional barriers between teachers and students, and that FB was one of her most effective tools for doing this.

Students seemed to respond favorably to Wang Ping's use of the site. In the case of Bee, she actively sought to "teach" the students on FB by discussing homework and assignment on the site. Not all students responded favorable to this. In contrast, Wang Ping's students seemed to view her FB usage much more positively. In our group interview with Mini and Look, we asked them about Wang Ping's usage of FB and how they felt about it. These two students clearly view Wang Ping as a "friend," and see her engagement with them on FB as quite normal.

Interview excerpt 27

May H: Do you mind when your teacher [referring to Wang Ping] uses FB?

Mini: No, she uses it all the time. It is normal.

Look: I like it. She talks about everything at school and stuff, and we learn more about her. She is our friend so we are happy to know about what she does and stuff.

Mini: Even when we go to her office we all look at FB together. Or in class we talk about it sometimes. It is fun!

May H: Does she try to teach you Chinese on FB?

Mini: No, she doesn't teach on FB, she just writes about stuff and shares pictures like that.

At the end of the excerpt, Mini specifically states that Wang Ping does not "teach" them on FB, and that she only shares content. As has been clear in other images from this chapter, Wang Ping does make extensive use of Chinese on the site, and her students do actively engage in the reading and writing of Chinese in their interactions with her. Likely Wang Ping could argue that her use of Chinese with students does constitute teaching of the language, but for both

her and her students, the use of elements of the Chinese language seems more a natural extension of their social interactions in many cases.

Almost the opposite view is expressed by Yingluck in my discussion with her about interactions with students on FB, and about teacher self-disclosure. Yingluck does use Facebook, but, as explained earlier, is mostly using the site in a passive manner. She is far less active than Wang Ping in terms of posts and the sharing of information on the site. In part, she says this is because of the presence of students on the site, and her concern over students as readers and viewers of her content. In my interview with Yingluck, I asked whether or not she felt that teachers should be friends with students on FB. She expressed concerns related to both her receptive and productive use of the site.

Interview excerpt 28

Andy H: So . . . do you have your students on FB? Do you think teachers should be friends with students on FB?

Yingluck: That is, I don't know . . . I am friends with some students on FB but it, I feel bad reading all of it. Maybe they don't remember I'm there too or I don't know. They talk about boyfriends and girls and all about the school and teachers and I feel like it is things I maybe not know.

Andy H: How about when you put things on FB? Do you think about the students who will read it?

Yingluck: Yes. I don't put too much there for pictures of me and like that. I don't want students to see it all. Mostly I just post good things about the school and students so it is ok.

At first, Yingluck explains how she “feels bad” reading the students’ posts on FB. She appears to have the sense of being a kind of uninvited guest into the discourse. She also talks about filtering her own content, and the fact that she chooses to mostly post about the school in general as opposed to personal information about herself.

It is easy to contrast the approach of Yingluck and Wang Ping in terms of their choices to interact with students on FB. They have different views about the appropriateness of teacher involvement in the lives of students, and these views manifest into different patterns of social interaction with the students, both on FB and in the face-to-face context. It is worth noting as well that other language teachers interviewed for this study had not consciously attempted to make use of FB for pedagogic purposes, and in fact had not considered using FB in this way. Thus, a final factor to consider is related to the willingness of the teacher to explore alternative possibilities and their comfort level with social media and technology of this type.

Summary

The use of second and third languages on FB by participants in this study varies widely, depending on the context of their participation, the established patterns of language use within that context, and their communicative needs. The plurilingual and multimodal competencies of participants appear as primary factors in terms of their abilities to fully participate in the various contexts presented here. This analysis has looked at four events that took place either partially or fully within the digital context of FB during the data collection period, and it has placed these events along a continuum of participation from global to local. The departure of a popular Chinese teacher is seen as representative of a specific and localized event. Language needs within the context of this event were dictated primarily through pragmatic and communicative need. At the other end of the continuum are global events like Valentine's Day and the Harlem Shake videos. English use within these events often took on a more symbolic than functional role, allowing participants to align themselves with global events and share in a collective set of experiences related to these events. Data presented here also suggests that FB has the potential to

be used for deliberate pedagogic purposes and that teachers that experiment with the use of FB in this way are met with both challenges as well as opportunities. Students also appear to respond differently to conscious attempts to use FB for intentional pedagogic purposes, depending on their relationships with the teachers and their perceptions of the teachers' intent in using the site.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Implications

This study has attempted to explore how Thai high school students and their teachers participate in FB and use language on the site. The present chapter will now return to a look at each of the three research questions specifically, and discuss these questions in relationship to data from the present study and findings from other research studies on related topics. The intention here is to connect findings from this study, as presented in Chapter 4, to emergent themes in the broader literature related to educational technology use, language learning online, and social networking site participation. The chapter concludes with a brief look at potential implications drawn from the study, and a discussion of how findings may contribute to our overall understanding of the above-mentioned issues.

Research Question 1: Use of FB by Thai High School Students and Teachers

The discussion of how Thai high school students and teachers use FB requires an analysis of both how participants access and make use of the site itself, as well as a look at how the site is functioning in their lives. To begin, it is helpful to return to a consideration of the nature of SNSs sites themselves, and their intended and actual usage. In her early work on SNS usage and participation, boyd (2007) helped to define SNSs broadly by highlighting several of their key characteristics. She pointed out, for example, that these sites generally allowed users the opportunity to create and modify personal profiles, as well as to maintain lists of personal connections with other users and share content with these users (2007, n.p.). In reviewing a general taxonomy of functional characteristics of SNSs, Conole and Alevizou (2010) also note that in a general sense, sites like FB and others afford a range of creative and expressive

opportunities that overall support productive (rather than purely passive) user participation. These notions are consistent with other trends noted from within the field of CALL as well, where researchers such as Blake (2007) tracked a broad shift in 21st CALL toward multimedia discourse, authenticity, and increased user participation and agency.

From data collected from the present study, it would seem clear that participants are making use of FB in ways that are consistent with the above sets of definitions. All participants maintained active FB profiles throughout the data collection period and they also participated in and maintained elaborate friend networks. In fact, in my own data, the vast majority of participants (89%) had over 100 friends on FB at the time the questionnaire was administered, and many friend counts were over 1000. Student and teacher participants were also sharing content on FB and, though the nature and type of this sharing varied somewhat, this sharing was robust and ongoing. During the course of my data collection period, each of the 22 participants targeted for discourse analysis work on FB posted updates, commented on other posts, shared video clips, shared pictures, and commented on other pictures. Many participants did all of these things on an almost daily basis. In this sense, all users were actively participating in the FB community, and their involvement in the discourse was both receptive and productive. Evidence for user autonomy and agency was also clearly present in my data as well. During one interview, we asked a student participant why she had chosen to share a music video from an American band. Her response was simply, “Oh, I just shared it because I like it and I want my friends to see it.” Another student said that she shared a photo because “it was special to me.” These are agentive and autonomous decisions on the part of the students, working to shape and constitute their own virtual identities, but not motivated out of external academic pressures or a sense of duty or responsibility. Thus it seems that participants in this study are making use of FB in ways

that align with current understandings of SNSs in general, and how these sites potentially function in the lives of users.

It is now possible to look into this question somewhat more deeply to gain a fuller understanding of how Thai teachers and English language learners are using FB. To do this, I have divided the following discussion into four sub-themes covering the full range of participation patterns observed in this study and relating these patterns to trends in recent research.

FB use in Thailand mirrors global patterns of participation. One of the most transparent findings from the current study is that participants, both students and teachers, are heavy users of FB and are spending a lot of time on the site. Of the participants in my sample, a full 98% have FB profiles. This perhaps should not be surprising given FB's growth in recent years, particularly in developing markets outside of Europe and the U.S. According to FB's own 2012 year end report, the site maintained over 1 billion active monthly users, over 600 million active daily users, and 680 million users of FB's various mobile applications ("Facebook," 2012). The overwhelming popularity of FB is apparent both in terms of active global users as reported by FB, and data from the present study representing participants in a Thai high school. The use of mobile applications is also worth noting. FB reports nearly two-thirds of its users accessing information through mobile devices but in data from the present study, the percentage is much higher with well over 90% of participants accessing the site at least partially through their smart phones.

As noted in the findings of this study, participants self reported large amounts of time on FB each day. These numbers seemed striking but are perhaps less so in the context of other research. For example, Tong et al. (2008) surveyed 132 university students in the U.S. and found

that they self reported on average 4.51 hours per day on the site. Again it should be noted the likely tendency of users, at least in the case of the current study, to over-report time spent on the site. Even given this fact however, we still have evidence of heavy use of the site for participants in Thailand as well as evidence that these patterns of participation are not out of line with those of young people in other countries.

Diverse literacies and FB as a *social* network. Research in the tradition of New Literacy Studies (Gee, 1999; Street, 1986) in recent years has pushed for an understanding of literacy as a social phenomenon, situated within specific contexts and utilized for interactive, social purposes. Social constructivist theories of second language learning highlight the fact that, because language use is an inherently social practice, language learning needs to take place not in isolation, but in authentic social contexts (Lantolf, 2000). FB offers clear potential in terms of providing a space for authentic social interaction. Also, FB is almost entirely a socially-constructed space. It is built around user interaction. Participants are not just negotiating with one another to construct meaning, they are also constructing the actual context of their interactions. The basic architecture for the FB platform is consistent. Users can set up their profiles on the site, and they can adjust language settings to their preferences. However, FB does not really begin to exist for users in a meaningful way until the interactive social network begins to emerge. Users construct their own reality on FB, and it is a reality that is constituted by and through the social construction of social networks on the site. Thus, in many ways, FB epitomizes a social constructivist framework for viewing and analyzing language in use.

FB discourse data from the present study, as well as interviews with student and teacher participants, can clearly be viewed from within this framework as well. FB is inherently a *social* network, and its success lies not with the technology itself, but with the extent to which it has

been able to help users tap into and enhance existing social networks and facilitate interaction within these networks. Students and teachers in Thailand, like others all over the world, are leveraging FB as a tool to enhance social interaction. In interview excerpt 19, presented in the previous chapter, the student named Berry discussed why FB appealed to her and what she thought it helped to accomplish that would otherwise be difficult. In the excerpt, Berry talks about using FB to “stay connected” to her friends and explains how her use of FB allows for both social interaction and the sharing of pictures and videos with friends. This interview excerpt is meaningful on several levels. Firstly, it is clear that for this student-participant, one primary appeal of FB is its ability to enhance social interaction and make the exchange of information easier. She says she uses FB to share information and find out what is going on. We can see that one of the functional roles of FB in her life is to help her maintain her awareness of her network of friends and their activities within the context of the school. It is this notion of connectivity that FB is so easily able to leverage with its users. Users appear to want greater and more sustained connectivity with friends, and the fact that FB is helping to provide this appears evident through the amount of time that participants were choosing to spend on the site.

Another interesting feature of the interview with Berry is the use of the word “talk.” In the excerpt she discusses the sharing of images on FB and says that, “this is part of how we talk too.” She is using the colloquial Thai word for “talk” that generally has the connotation of face-to-face, spoken interaction, but here she uses the term to refer to the sharing of information on FB. She says that she “talks” to her friends about what is going on in school but she means more than the exchange of written information in this context. She further expands the connotation of the word when she says that the sharing of pictures “is part of how we talk too.” In some ways her use of the term “talk” dovetails nicely with expanding notions of literacy in the 21st century.

Knobel and Lankshear (2003, 2008) speak of at least two ways that the understandings of literacies have broadened in recent years. The first of these has roots in the “social turn” in literacy studies (Gee, 1999; Knobel & Lankshear, 2006). The second is what they refer to as the “ontological” sense of the “new,” particularly with respect to digitally mediated texts and the writing and sharing of information online. For this individual, FB participation involves a kind of “talk” but this is a uniquely 21st century sense of the term, where talking can involve typing messages back and forth as well as sharing visual images. Kress (2003) would understand literacy of this type in terms of social semiotics, with meaning embedded in and exchanged not only through words themselves, but also through a variety of other visual representations. The sharing of images in particular can also be viewed as kind of digitally mediated literacy, literacy that has been adapted and in many ways expanded according to the affordances and constraints of the medium itself (Thorne & Black, 2007).

Further evidence of the social nature of the role of FB in the lives of participants can be seen in Figure 11 from Chapter 4. In that exchange, we saw Wang Ping interacting with a student who was thanking her for being added as a friend on FB. The exchange began as a simple “thank you” message but, because of the public and social nature of the site, evolved into a series of light-hearted jokes about Wang Ping’s internal versus external beauty. In fact, exchange like these were commonplace in the data. A long string of comments associated with a particular post often would shift the direction and meaning of the discussion significantly.

Also important to the issue of FB as a tool for social interaction is the notion of privacy and the concern that participants have with publicly identifiable information being shared in social spaces. This proved a major theme in much of the literature reviewed for this study, but seemed to be of little concern to most participants in the study. In examples like the excerpt

referenced above, a seemingly private event like an invitation for friendship on FB becomes publicly displayed and open for public comment. All FB friends can view exchanges such as these, and in the case of Thai high school students, this often means the majority of students within the school. Gross and Acquisti (2005) surveyed over 4,000 undergraduate students and found the vast majority of them were publicly sharing personal information like email addresses and phone numbers on their FB profiles, and they were linking this information to clearly identifiable photos. My own data did not show evidence of participants sharing email addresses on FB, but this is largely because email is not a commonly used tool by high school students in Thailand, and few participants had email addresses. Phone numbers were commonly shared, either on profile pages or as exchanges of information, and this never seemed to be a concern for student-participants. This information was specifically addressed in one interview when we asked the student named Bom about posting his own phone number and allowing it to be viewed publicly. In the interview, we showed Bom a FB posting where he had included his own phone number, and we specifically asked him if he was concerned about sharing this information publicly. His response was telling in that he really did not seem to understand the nature of the question itself or why it would be asked at all. After some discussion he summarized by saying, “anyone who wants it can just ask me, or ask one of my friends.” For Bom, it hardly even seems to register as a privacy concern. In a sense this mirrors the social web that FB represents for many people. When you agree to friend someone, you agree to allow them to see everything you write and share, and in many ways you open yourself up to their network of friends as well.

Issues of privacy go hand-in-hand with understanding self-disclosure on FB and its role in social interaction within the discourse community. Mazer, Murphy, and Simmonds (2007, 2009) conducted two similar studies relating to student perceptions of teacher self disclosure on

FB, and both had similar findings. Both studies found that students had more positive views of teachers who disclosed more information, and students also expected more learning to occur from teachers with higher self-disclosure of personal information on FB. These studies suggest that there may be an expectation of sharing at a certain level in order to maintain trust within the community. From the current study, numerous interviews suggest that students are generally happy that teachers are on FB and feel positive about interacting with teachers in this way. This is important because the teachers' point of view sometimes seemed to be the opposite. Yingluck for example, the oldest and most experienced of the Thai English teachers, expressed her own reluctance to friend students and participate to heavily within the FB community. Some of this is presented in interview excerpt 28 from the previous chapter. In the interview, I asked Yingluck about her FB participation as it relates to the presence of students on FB. She explained that she actually felt uncomfortable seeing some of the students' posts, and suggested that students likely were not carefully considering the fact that teachers were present and could view their discussions as well. When I asked Yingluck about her own sharing on FB, she stated that she did think carefully about what she shared, given the fact that students were viewing and sharing her posts and pictures.

Yingluck's friendship status with students on FB actually seemed to be acting as a kind of self-disclosure filter for her. She is actively aware of her audience and unwilling to post detailed personal information or photographs. She is also uncomfortable in her passive role as a reader of FB, feeling that students need privacy and should not be subject to their teacher's gaze at all times. Her views on self-disclosure on the site are certainly understandable in the context but they do contradict the findings in Mazer, Murphy, and Simmonds (2007, 2009) that students have a more positive view of teachers who self disclose more information. They also tend to

contradict some student interview data from the current study as students did not suggest that a teacher's presence on FB would have any negative implications. This issue is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter however, as there are variations in the nature of teacher participation and use of FB, and students do appear to respond differently depending on the type of information that teachers are sharing.

It is possible to align some of this discussion with the work of Henry Jenkins (2008) and his concern with the ethical challenges of social media, in particular the raising of young people's awareness of privacy issues and the implications of sharing personal content online. Jenkins believes that educators need to take on a greater role in working with students and young people to help them understand social media and its related privacy implications. In my own data, Yingluck is older, a more experienced social media user, and much more likely to be aware of her audience and the implications of the content that she shares. The high school students in the study have never had any training or guidance when it comes to social media participation. Their parents for the most part are not likely to be active users, and education in Thailand is not yet concerned with the social media habits of young people. This means that students are learning as they go along, and learning almost exclusively from one another.

When looking at patterns of social interaction in high schools, whether these are face-to-face or online interactions, it is also important to consider the notion of popularity and general perceptions of others on the site. Tong et al. (2008) found what they termed an "optimal friend count" with respect to measures of perceived social and physical attractiveness. Their data suggested that participants viewed others with perceived very high or very low friend counts more negatively. In the findings from this study, I reported that it seemed clear that, in some ways, students in particular were using numeric data from FB like friend counts, likes, and

comments, as virtual representations of popularity. In interview excerpt 13 from the previous chapter, we asked about friend counts and what they mean. The conclusion seemed to be more friends were always perceived in a more positive way than fewer friends, and that there was not an upper limit in terms of “optimal” friend numbers. The two students speaking in the interview talk about the number “1000” as a kind of threshold level of FB friends that they are trying to achieve. When asked whether or not it would be possible to view someone negatively for having too many friends on FB, the simple response was “No, more friends are always better.”

Data of this type suggests something quite different from Tong et al. (2008). At least with student-participants in this study, friend counts on FB seem to correlate with popularity to some degree but without an upper limit. The “optimal friend count” in the case of the current data seems to be the largest.

A final point on the issue of privacy and self-disclosure from the current study relates to naming conventions and the use of pseudonyms on FB. The site allows for users to set a default orthography for profile information, so users are free to enter their actual name in Thai if they choose to do so. Of the 22 participants in my focal group, only seven used their actual Thai name as their name on FB. All others chose Latin orthography and a variety of other naming conventions ranging from a common nickname, to a minor variation on a friends name, to the name of a popular Starbucks beverage. Aside from raising interesting questions about identity formulation online, these decisions also concern issues of privacy and self-disclosure. The Gross and Acquisti study (2005) found that a full 89% of their sample of university students in the U.S. were using their real names. The difference between the Thai data and the study from Gross and Acquisti is striking, but it is difficult to suggest that participants in this study are motivated in any sense to alter their names in order to mask their actual identity. Because of the nature of the

discourse community they participate in, there is never any doubt as to who is who on the site. Pictures are shared so frequently and tagged so often that it would be practically impossible to hide one's identity and still fully participate in the site. So, while it would be possible to characterize the naming conventions of Thai participants as efforts to maintain a degree of privacy or anonymity online, it is more likely that these pseudonyms are playful and expressive examples of identity work and unrelated to a perceived need for anonymity on the site.

Overall, it seems that participants are using the social network to *socialize* and that the analysis of this experience aligns well with expanding definitions of literacy and the general social turn in literacy studies in recent years. They are likely using FB as a partial measure of popularity as well, counting friends and managing social circles much as high schoolers will do in the physical world. In some sense however, students and teachers alike are in uncharted territory, and issues like self-disclosure and privacy are very real concerns that have yet to be worked out within the discourse community.

Seeing technology as a means and not an end. Kern's (2006) review of CALL literature discusses the increasing ubiquity of various forms of technology in the lives of language learners across the globe. His writing highlights a shift in the research field over the previous 10 years; a shift away from explicitly focusing on computers and other tools themselves, and toward greater attention to the affordances and constraints on language use provided by these tools. This trend is consistent with a broader, paradigmatic shift in the research base as well, with greater attention being paid now to socioconstructivist ways of theorizing language learning and development and the agency of the learners themselves (Blake, 2008).

This theoretical orientation is in-line with my own views regarding FB as a tool for language learning. As I have highlighted previously, I am not attempting in this research to

suggest that FB itself, as a unique application, is somehow responsible for any shifts that may be happening in how participants are using language for interaction. FB is hardly unique, and only a part of broad transformations that are currently taking place in our society. FB is a trend right now in Thailand and, as such, it is being explored with great enthusiasm by young people all over the country. As this research has tried to show, FB has become so integrated into the high school community here that not being on FB is almost impossible if one wants to maintain social circles in ways consistent with peers. It is still not the tool itself however, that is the interesting piece of the research puzzle, but instead what people are choosing to do with that tool, and how it is functioning in their lives. In our group interview with Mini (interview excerpt 25), she discusses why she uses FB, and her motivations center around the types of interactions and activities that FB use facilitates. She talks about how she is able to do a range of activities on the site. She discusses social interactions, but she also talks about getting homework assignments from school even while she is at home. In her discussion of the affordances of the site, she highlights both the social and pragmatic impacts of FB usage. Mini suggests that that she is using the site because it helps her do so many things, and makes her life easier and more convenient. While it is true that FB is popular right now, and some users are there because of this factor, there are much deeper and more substantive motivations at work as well. FB users like Mini are beginning to see beyond the tool itself, and into the affordances that its use provides to them within broader contexts such as academics.

In his discussion of new media technologies, Jenkins (2008) stated that,

Most public policy discussion of new media have centered on technologies—tools and their affordances. The computer is discussed as a magic black box with the potential to create a learning revolution or a black hole that consumes resources that might better be devoted to more traditional classroom activities. (p. 7)

His argument however, is for a more “ecological approach” to new media literacies. He suggests that we need to think more carefully about the interrelatedness of all literacies, digital and otherwise, and to consider their embeddedness within cultures and communities, and the nature of participation these literacies support. And, as can be seen from the interview excerpt with Mini above, she is concerned with precisely how FB is enabling her fuller participation in social circles and the broader school community. She views FB participation as fully embedded within the culture of the school, and for Mini and other students like her, literacy in the context of FB is essential for full participation within this community.

Discourse communities and event participation on FB. Writing in 1990, John Swales argued that the notion of “speech community” was well established through the work in particular of Labov (1966) and later Hymes (1974). Swales (1990) however, felt that the concept of the speech community was limiting, particularly with respect to the nature of the communicative medium itself. His critique was primarily that an overt focus on speech not only tended to sideline literacy and written communication, but also was limiting in terms of spatial and temporal relationships (p. 470). In a way, his insights were quite forward thinking as 21st century forces such as globalization and computer mediated communication now mean that physical proximity is becoming a less relevant issue for participation in discourse communities.

In categorizing the findings from the present study, I have chosen look at participation in events rather than to discuss the specific nature of the discourse community/ies on FB. To understand why, it is helpful to look at how Swales characterizes the discourse community and also how data from this study fits or does not fit with that characterization. Swales offers six defining characteristics of a discourse community. Some of these do indeed fit with participants’ use of FB in this study. For example, Swales suggests that a discourse community “uses its

participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback” (p. 472). This is largely consistent with data from my study. Participants are using FB for functional purposes like arranging times to meet and sharing gossip about one another. Even this straightforward definition falls short in some respects however, as participants are clearly doing much more than providing information and feedback. As I have outlined previously, students in particular are also actively using FB’s social features to track popularity. Swales also suggests that a discourse community has a “broadly agreed set of public goals” (p. 472) and this does not appear evident in data from this study. It might be possible to suggest that the FB community as a whole has a broadly agreed set of public goals, at least as outlined by the company’s mission statement and objectives, but in reality the community is much too diverse for this to make sense. At the specific level of the Thai high school community on FB, it cannot be said that there exists any broadly agreed upon set of public goals. Finally Swales suggests that discourse communities possess specific genres and, to varying degrees, have established their own lexis. It is true that FB users in this study have often established discourse specific sets of expectations in terms of how to behave and interact in that space. There are formulaic patterns of participation that I have highlighted in my own findings. One of these is the birthday greeting. There is a pre-patterned way of wishing someone happy birthday on FB, and relatively little variation on this method exists. This conceptualization is complicated however, by the often plurilingual nature of FB participation seen in this study. As I will explain in greater detail shortly, one of the keys to full access and participation is a degree of plurilingual competence and a comfort level with moving freely into and out of different language groups. Thus, I would argue that the defining characteristics of the discourse community as established by Swales are only partly sufficient to theoretically frame participation by the FB users in this study.

It is also helpful to return to the concept of participatory culture as established by Jenkins (2008). In his discussion of the practices associated with Web 2.0 culture, Jenkins explains the underlying principles of a participatory culture. There are parallels here with Swales' conceptualization of discourse communities, but Jenkins is using a more contemporary lens and framing his discussion around the affordances of computer mediated communication specifically. In his definition, Jenkins states that a participatory culture is one with low barriers to participation. This is quite consistent with data from the present study where virtually all participants are on FB and actively participating in one form or another. Smartphones and the sharing of digital devices mean that most everyone is able to participate. Jenkins also writes that "a participatory culture is also one in which members believe that their contributions matter and feel some degree of social connection with one another" (p. 3). Again, this definition fits well with FB participants in the Thai high school context. Students are using FB metrics such as "likes" in order to register the perceived value of their contribution and clearly there is an ongoing sense of social connection to others within the school through the use of FB.

Interestingly, both Jenkins and Swales include elements of the novice/expert relational aspect in their respective definitions. Swales claims that the survival of the discourse community "depends on a reasonable ratio between novices and experts" (p. 473) and Jenkins says that there must exist "some kind of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices" (p. 3). With respect to mentorship and learning within FB, data from interviews mostly suggests that while there is certainly a range of experience with FB usage, learning the behaviors and norms of full participation is quite often an informal process of observation. In the group interview with Thom and Double' Iced (interview excerpt 12), we asked the students how they learned to use FB. Both Thom and Double' Iced suggest that the

process of learning to use FB is gradual and almost entirely autonomous. In fact, they found the suggestion of someone teaching them to use FB to be quite funny. They came to the site initially through friends, and spent time as passive observers before becoming active participants themselves. Almost all student and teacher interviews included some variation on this theme where participants talk about a gradual process of learning to use the site, starting with passive reading and minimal participation and leading slowly up to full production and participation in the community. In a way the participants are mentored into becoming active participants, but their status as novices is generally marked by passivity and observation as they begin to internalize the norms of participation.

As has been highlighted in my findings chapter, I've chosen to thematically analyze FB usage at the level of event participation. This framing relies heavily on Jenkins' notion of participatory culture, and the data from the present study is consistent with his definition of the term. I have not chosen to view the FB usage in this Thai high school as a discourse community, because in many ways I find the conceptualization not sufficiently robust to capture the full nature of participation, particularly with respect to plurilingual competence and diverse language use. The culture that I have observed is a participatory one, but the communities are transient and social circles shift and realign often. In my view, it is not the community that matters so much to the participants, but more the ability to fully participate in the various FB mediated events. These views will become clearer as the analysis now turns to the second research question and centers more clearly on specific nature of the language use on the site.

Research Question 2: Nature of Plurilingual and Multimodal FB Discourse for Thai Students and Teachers

Student and teacher participants in this study are variously making use of features of numerous languages, several different orthographic traditions, and a range of multimodal encoding systems. Language use on FB is rich, sophisticated, and in many ways defies straightforward interpretation. For these reasons, it is challenging and in some ways insufficient for an analysis to look discretely at individual language use on FB. I cannot, for example, discuss simply the participants' use of Chinese on the site because Chinese features, when they appear, do not function in isolation. They are embedded within complex encoding systems that likely also involve elements of Thai, possibly English, emoticons, visual images, and a range of other possibilities. This is why the current study looks to the framework of plurilingualism as a partial analytic tool to consider the various features of language use on the site. This notion of plurilingualism, along with multimodality and linguistic hybridity, are the primary tools of analysis for the following discussion of the second research question.

Framing participation through plurilingual competence. When viewed from a plurilingual perspective, much of the FB discourse data from this study of a Thai high school can be analyzed both in terms of competence as well as context. In fact, Canagarajah's (2009) notion of integrated competence is useful in a number of ways. By deemphasizing competence at the level of the individual language, it is much easier to conceptualize the actual nature of language in use. For example, if we refer back to Figure 23 from the previous chapter, we can see lexical features of English, Chinese, and Thai as well as diverse emoticons. Given language samples of this type, it would be challenging to piece together participants' levels of competence in the various languages represented. Instead, from a plurilingual perspective, we can speak in terms of the integrated competence of interlocutors within a given context. Participants in this study

frequently rely on a sophisticated communicative repertoire that moves across languages and includes visual imagery as well.

In Figure 21, we can see other elements of Canagarajah's (2009) definitions as well. For example, Canagarajah discusses the fact that language proficiency need not be equivalent across the languages in use. There are two participants in this exchange, one a native speaker of Chinese and the other a native speaker of Thai. They inevitably have differing proficiency levels in each of these respective languages. What is emerging in the context of these FB interactions is the reliance on a range of linguistic codes, drawn from diverse experiences, with an overtly communicative purpose. The participants in exchanges such as these are negotiating with one another and working together to determine the most effective and efficient means of communication in the given context.

Canagarajah's final point about the autonomous emergence of plurilingual competence also merits attention here, as it is consistent with the data from this study. Plurilingualism has not found its way into the national curriculum in Thailand. Schools are not actively teaching students how to navigate the complex sociolinguistic parameters of much of today's online communication. Students are working this out on their own through their engagement with the social practices of their peers, both at their own schools and around the world. This is in many ways similar to the earlier discussion of how participants were learning to use FB. They were not taught to use the site, but instead informally mentored into a community, often primarily through passive observation. The linguistic codes in this community are frequently plurilingual in nature, and they are very much dependent on the competence of the interlocutors and the specific context of the interaction.

Affording the development of multimodal literacies. To better understand language use on FB, it is also helpful to return to the concept of multimodality and the nature of multimodal literacies that are emerging in online contexts. As data from the present study has shown, systems for encoding meaning on FB are complex. Traditional alphabetic literacy is in many ways the dominant form, but as we have seen, participants often move freely from one orthography to another. Emoticons function as an extension of alphabetic literacy, but often serve as uniquely visual representations of traditional oral discourse features as well. And the sharing of photos and videos on sites like FB, as well as the creation of “birthday cards” and other digital artifacts, creates an environment where the meaning making experience is truly semiotic. In his discussion of Kress’ views of multimodal literacies in the 21st century, Jenkins (2008) stresses that these literacies demand the ability to express ideas across a range of diverse representational systems. He notes specifically that, “participants in this new media landscape learn to navigate these different and sometimes conflicting modes of representation and to make meaningful choices about the best ways to express their ideas in each context” (p. 47).

What Jenkins and others are arguing is that traditional conceptualizations of the literate/non-literate distinction are insufficient for a discussion of the various literacies at work, particularly in socially networked spaces online. If a Thai student is striving for full and authentic participation in the community of FB, then even diverse plurilingual competencies will not be fully sufficient. Participants need mastery of all the various literacies embedded within texts, images, sounds, and spatial arrangements. Figure 25 is a good example of this. The face shown in the figure, along with a few of its associated comments, gives some sense of the sophistication at work and the demands placed on those wishing to participate in the interactions. In Figure 25, it is the visual image itself that is most striking; the unusual photo of Bom’s face

conveys mood and emotion. Much of the plurilingual discourse exemplified in this exchange is embedded within a reading of the visual image itself. This is a clear example of the way in which sites like FB afford the ability to authentically communicate through visual as well as textual modalities.

The creation and sharing of the Harlem Shake videos discussed in the findings of this study offers another opportunity to look at multimodality. In many ways, these videos exemplify multimodal literacy of the 21st century. Student participants were viewing and listening to original video material (in a language other than their L1) then creating their own video content and sharing their creations on FB along with comments and discussions. Here we have print literacy in a range of languages working side by side with video production, music, and the social sharing of content. Kress (2003) has suggested that educators need to rethink the teaching of composition in order to help students think through the various information channels available to them, and the optimal way of communicating their intended message to their audience. In many ways, as the range of information channels and media are expanded, the actual vocabulary available for the composition process grows dramatically. Student participants in this study are making use of the affordances provided by the FB platform to communicate with each other more fully. They are using photos, videos, music, spatial arrangements and the printed word in their communication and, importantly, are learning how to do so autonomously and in a context and space of their choosing. Their compositional practices are complex and, as I have tried to show, both plurilingual and multimodal in nature.

Remixing and cultural and linguistic hybridity. Finally, in an attempt to better understand the discourse of participants on FB in this study, I would like to turn to the concept of remixing and cultural and linguistic hybridity (Black, 2008, 2009; Knobel & Lankshear, 2008;

Pennycook, 2010). These notions complement the understanding framed through both plurilingualism and multimodality, and I feel help to round out the full picture in terms of participant discourse and the practices associated with FB use.

Pennycook (2010), in his sociolinguistic analysis of globalization and popular culture, pushes for a renewed focus on pop culture as the site of the academic study of 21st century language practices. In his discussion of the difficulties of conducting pop culture research, he notes that many forms of pop culture expression, for example, rap music, videos, and anime, give rise to language norms that are transitory and often fleeting in nature. This issue is exacerbated in online and multimodal discourse, where sometimes the actual nature of the discourse itself may be dependent on technologies and technological innovations that may only be a few years or even months old.

One of the primary points of the Pennycook analysis was a look at the dichotomous relationship between the global and the local with respect to the flow and spread of popular culture around the world. In my own data I was able to highlight what I viewed to be divergent discourse practices depending upon participation in events that existed at various points on a global to local continuum. The more local events for example, such as the departure of the Chinese teacher Wang Ping, facilitated language choices that were more pragmatic in nature whereas more globalized event participation often accompanied more symbolic language choices, designed to align users with trends outside the school and community. Pennycook looked at elements of Francophone hip hop culture from West Africa to Toronto, and he viewed the localized versions of these global trends as multilingual and multicultural mixtures. In the data from the present study, both the Valentine's Day event and the Harlem Shake videos offer useful windows into the flow of popular culture and the localized adaptations that take place.

As shown in the findings, students participated in the Valentine's Day event in diverse ways. Some of these, for example the sharing of virtual Valentine's Day cards or the writing of "Happy Valentine's Day" in English, show evidence of participation in a globalized pop culture event. Because of the local cultural and linguistic context however, much of the discourse was altered and adapted to meet the communicative needs of participants. Two examples of this were shown as Figure 7 and Figure 8 in the previous chapter. In Figure 7, MC Blur is sending out a Valentine's Day greeting that appears partly in English and partly in Thai. In Figure 8, Friendly bell'az is posting a short Valentine's Day message and also including a photo of herself along with the flowers that she received.

In Figure 7, the adaptation is primarily text based. The Latin orthography is used for the English message, but this is situated between the Thai alphabet and two different variations on emoticons. MC Blur is clearly participating in the popular cultural event through his use of English, but also adapting and remixing to meet his needs. Similarly, in Figure 8 we see evidence of a more visual mode of communication. The student shows the flowers that she received, aligning with common Valentine's Day tradition, but we also see the shirt decorations that are common in Asia and particularly Thailand for Valentine's Day. Here she has chosen Thai to express herself in writing, along with the emoji representing love, but still is able to show herself clearly and fully participating in the global event.

Knobel and Lankshear (2006) have labeled the above process as remixing, or the "practice of taking cultural artifacts and combining and manipulating them into a new kind of creative blend" (p. 106). Black (2008, 2009) used the concept of remixing to frame a discussion of how English language learners were participating in online fan-fiction sites. In Black's studies, the participants were making use of pop culture artifacts like movies and anime in order

to rewrite fiction from differing points of view and with alternative plot lines. Similarly, much of Lam's work (2004, 2009) has highlighted how language learners participating in online chat forums remix components of both their L1s and L2s, along with emoticons and various other communicative tools. Lam's discourse analysis work in many ways shows findings similar to those of the present study. Participants here are shown to be remixing diverse languages (particularly English, Thai, and Chinese) as well as various other multimodal encoding systems, to produce a coherent communicative system that is almost entirely unique to the context of the Thai high school.

In Lam's studies however, she tended to frame this remixing in terms of the emergent bilingual and bicultural identities of the participants. In her own words, her data presents, "the construction of new identities as transnational friends and family members and global information seekers" (2009, p. 187). The data from the current study of Thai high school students and their teachers is somewhat different. The participants, for the most part, are neither making direct transnational affiliations nor interacting with friends or family in international contexts. They are, however, "global information seekers," and more precisely, are actively seeking to participate in events at the global level. When participation occurs however, as with the case of the Harlem Shake videos or the Valentine's Day event, the nature of the specific discourse is remixed in line with Thai culture and with the students' interests and backgrounds.

To answer the second question succinctly then, the nature of plurilingual and multimodal discourse on FB is sophisticated. Student and teacher participants are making use of their plurilingual competence, and they are developing this competence in an ongoing and autonomous fashion. Language use on FB is inherently multimodal, and participants are comfortable encoding and decoding meaning from texts, music, videos, photos, and diverse

spatial arrangements on the page. The language forms that emerge in this context are uniquely remixed to include the diverse linguistic and cultural resources available to participants in this study.

Research Question 3: Pedagogic Use of FB for Language Instruction

FB offers teachers diverse opportunities related specifically to teaching and language learning. For example, teachers, if they choose to do so, can open up direct and often immediate lines of communication with students through FB participation. They can assume with some confidence that announcements made on FB will get to students quite quickly. Teachers can also share a range of multimodal content on the site. They can embed video clips, share images, and include links to sites. Students can be asked to share content, post HW assignments, record and share video or audio files, or participate in discussion forums on FB. In the following section, I will discuss how Thai teachers in this study were making pedagogic use of FB, and how this usage relates to the available literature on the topic.

Facilitating interaction and building trust through self-disclosure. One of the primary themes to emerge from the literature on teachers' use of social networking sites has to do with the role of teacher self-disclosure. The two studies conducted by Mazer, Murphy, and Simmonds (2007, 2009) both suggested that students were likely to be more motivated and anticipated a more positive classroom environment with teachers who disclosed more personal information on FB. Of the four teachers who participated in the study, Wang Ping was by far the most active in terms of social networking site participation in general and with her students in particular. She self reported spending a couple of hours per day on the site herself, and a review of her posting activity and friend profile shows that she had friended almost 100 students on FB, and actively

engaged with them on the site. She shared a lot of personal information, including photos and reports of her travels, her dating experiences, as well as events from her day-to-day experiences at the school. In my interview with Wang Ping, we talked about her use of FB with the students and she revealed that she made little or no effort to filter her shared content because of student readership. It simply was not a major issue for her. We can see evidence of this in her discussion of the issue in interview excerpt 26 from the previous chapter. In this excerpt, she talks at length about her habit of sharing relatively personal information on FB and how she feels that students perceive sharing of this type.

Wang Ping is not particularly concerned about her students reading content on FB that is somewhat personal in nature, and, in fact, she suggests that this is actually a positive experience as it builds or strengthens her relationship with students. Though she did not say it explicitly, the sense here is that she feels that the revealing of personal information on FB humanizes her in the eyes of the students. As this study has shown, her relationship with many of her students was quite strong and the experience of her leaving the school was emotional and traumatic both for the teacher and for many of her students.

Wang Ping's comments and the Mazer, Murphy, and Simmonds findings on teacher self-disclosure are also mirrored somewhat by comments from a couple of Wang Ping's students during the group interviews. Paralleling my discussion with Wang Ping about her disclosure on FB, I asked the students their own opinion on this topic. They generally had a very positive response on this issue, partly it seems because they tend to view Wang Ping partly as a friend and partly as a teacher, and as a friend and member of the social community of FB, her participation was inline with their expectations. The interview excerpt 27 with Mini and Look gives insight into the student's view of Wang Ping's interactions on FB. It is clear from this

excerpt that the nature of Wang Ping's participation in FB acts to break down the naturally occurring social and cultural barriers that would exist between a Chinese teacher and Thai students. She is actively engaged in their FB community and participating in a way that aligns with student expectations.

In contrast to Wang Ping's social interactions with students, it is also important to keep in mind the choices made by other teachers as well. Yingluck discussed this issue and that discussion is presented in interview excerpt 28. Yingluck, who is an older and more experienced teacher, but much less frequent user of FB, takes almost the opposite approach from Wang Ping. Yingluck is concerned about sharing personal information on FB and makes conscious decisions not to do so because she knows that students will be viewing her posts on the site. In her view, the disclosure of personal information from teachers is a liability and something to be avoided, whereas for Wang Ping, she actively recognizes the increased trust and relationship building that comes along with disclosing personal information. Thus the findings from Mazer et al. (2007, 2009), suggesting a positive role for teacher self-disclosure, are mirrored in data here from Wang Ping and her students, but somewhat challenged through interview data with Yingluck.

Contrasting the pedagogic intent of Wang Ping and Bee. Also worth noting here is the concept of pedagogic intent on the part of the instructor. In an earlier excerpt from an interview with Wang Ping, she made clear that she was in fact "teaching" them on FB, and that she was consciously making decisions about language use that would motivate students to read her Chinese writing and respond as well. Students however, at least the two students from interview excerpt 27, did not pick up on this fact, and did not feel that she was teaching them Chinese. They were clearly engaging with different languages, often in hybridized and plurilingual forms as discussed earlier, but they were not consciously aware of their learning in this context, nor

were they aware of their teachers intent.

Wang Ping's participation in the FB community of the school can be contrasted with that of Bee. The findings section of this study explained at length the nature of Bee's involvement with FB and her efforts to use FB as a course management platform. Her logic was straightforward. Because she knew most all of her students were checking in with FB everyday, she felt that it made good sense to attempt to utilize the site to share assignments, keep track of students, and share links to language learning content online. Research by Stevenson and Liu (2010) would suggest that Bee's thinking may be quite reasonable. In their study, they reviewed foreign language learning sites that were modeled on social networking sites like FB. Their data suggested that users of these sites were much more interested in the language learning features and content of the sites than they were in the social networking and sharing aspects. However, on these sites, users were specifically signing up in order to study a given foreign language, so it makes some sense that they would express a preference for the language learning components of the site. This is different from participants in this study who were making use of FB first and foremost as a social networking platform. The Stevenson and Liu (2010) findings are quite similar to those of Harrison and Thomas (2009) who also suggested that users of the language learning site Livemocha.com were primarily taking advantage of the grammar exercises and quizzes made available on the site, and not the specific social networking features.

Bee stated clearly that she felt that she was able to use FB to improve her own English, so she also wanted her students to take advantage of the same opportunity. As discussed in the findings section however, institutional constraints were a real factor. Bee would have preferred to give actual writing assignments on FB, but the school was requiring paper-based journals to be submitted each week. Bee was an active participant on FB, but she worked much harder than

Wang Ping to keep her social circles differentiated on the site. Most of her student interaction on FB was done via the “groups” feature of the site where she had students designated into specific course groups that she was teaching. She did not actively comment on or participate in the FB lives of her students nearly to the extent of Wang Ping.

Student participants seemed to respond differently to Bee on FB as opposed to Wang Ping. Bee’s efforts to encourage language learning on FB were overt and conscious. She asked students to do work and complete assignments and generally brought her English teaching fully into the FB community. On the whole, she seemed to meet with a less favorable response than Wang Ping from the point of view of the students. In interview excerpt 24, it is possible to see hints of the students’ feelings on this issue. It is important to keep in mind that I was functioning both as a teacher at the school and as the interviewer. Students in Thailand would not openly criticize a teacher in an interview with another teacher, so their responses were subtle and need to be understood in this context. All three of the students in the interview excerpt appear only marginally interested in their teacher’s attempts to make active, pedagogic use of the site. These responses are quite different from those of Wang Ping’s students discussed earlier. These students seemed relatively uninterested in active attempts at language learning on FB, and seem to prefer to keep the site for social interactions with friends.

The contrast between Wang Ping’s engagement with the students and Bee’s efforts to utilize FB is fairly clear. It appears that when students view their teacher as an active social participant on the site, as someone whose participation on the site aligns with their own behaviors and expectations, then this teacher’s use of the site is viewed quite positively. On the other hand, when teachers attempt to more intentionally and directly engage students in the language learning process, their responses are somewhat muted. In many ways Wang Ping was

able to use this to her advantage. Her participation on FB with her students carried over into the physical world of the school and her classroom. Students knew her, trusted her, and ultimately her relationship with them led to greater engagement with the Chinese language.

Educational Implications

Drawing from the findings presented in the current study, several educational implications merit consideration. A primary question is whether FB can be used as a viable tool for either language learning or teaching. Also, if it is assumed that full and active participation in social communities online is a legitimate objective for learners and teachers, another educational implication is a better understanding of the specific nature of the language that is required for participation in various FB contexts.

In terms of the usefulness of FB as a learning and teaching tool, this study contrasted the patterns of self-disclosure and teacher engagement between Wang Ping and Bee. At least in the context of the current study, it appears that Wang Ping's approach involving high levels of teacher self-disclosure and the sharing of personal information appealed to students and facilitated both teacher-student and student-student interactions across at least three languages. From interview data with both Wang Ping and her students, it seems that participants responded quite strongly to her use of the site to enhance and strengthen social connections with students. The educational implication here is consistent with findings from Mazer et al. (2007, 2009), namely that educators need to consider carefully the possibility that higher levels of personal self-disclosure in social media may facilitate greater engagement on the part of the students. Related to teacher self-disclosure, it may also be the case that Wang Ping's personality was a primary factor that promoted student to teacher interaction. The relationship between teacher

self-disclosure on social networks and personality is a topic in need of further study.

From the perspective of language instruction, another implication to consider relates to the pedagogic potential of FB as a tool for course management. From the educator's point of view, it makes sense to think about the viability of FB as a course management tool because the system is already embedded in the lives of many students in Thailand. The present study shows that FB has the attention of the vast majority of student participants, and it has their attention for sometimes several hours per day. Bee was able to see this fact clearly, and she wanted to experiment with the possibility of integrating FB into her pedagogy in a thoughtful and intentional way. The findings from this study, however, show somewhat mixed results. Although FB does present an educator with functional tools for setting up groups and managing tasks online, students in this study were less than enthusiastic about the use of FB for writing assignments and actual "schoolwork." Further, the research site and context need to be kept clearly in mind. At this high school in Thailand, there did not exist any other viable option in terms of online course management systems. Popular course management systems such as Moodle or Blackboard were not present as alternatives. Bee's attempts to use FB as a platform for online course management were explorations on her part. She saw the potential of FB to assist with and potentially enhance certain aspects of her pedagogy, and she wanted to see what was possible. Her attempts are valuable first steps, but they likely would not have happened if alternative course management options were available to her.

Related to this point, interview data showed that not all students were interested in having assignments, course announcements, and homework entering into their FB space. From my observations of these students' social networking site usage, it was clear that, for many, FB was their only experience with social networking on a large scale. For the most part, they were not

active or productive users of other social networks. Their participation patterns are different from social networking site usage in other countries, where participants may be actively involved in a large number of online social networks, each serving slightly different purposes. For participants in this study, FB was really about social connections with peers. It was, by and large, a social space where they saw themselves as in control of the content that they viewed and the people that they chose to interact with. The absence of other online social networks in their lives meant that they did not have experience engaging in other types of online social interactions. For educators thinking about the viability of sites like FB as course management tools, context and participant experience may matter greatly. Are students engaged with a diverse range of social networks? Do they have experience in tailoring their social interactions to fit the community and site specifically? Do other online course management options exist that could serve a similar function? These are essential questions to answer before considering the use of social networking sites like FB as pedagogic tools.

Aside from the opportunity to use FB as a tool for language learning and teaching, students and teachers also have the potential to take advantage of the site as a vast repository of authentic language in use. Language learners need to be able to see how languages function in real-world contexts, and ideally they need to be able to participate in these contexts as well. It is often difficult for students in developing countries to find authentic ways to fully interact in languages other than their own. FB offers an opportunity to both study language in use, and to take part in authentic discourse. As a socially constructed space for peer interaction, it is clear that FB offers users a significant opportunity to engage with diverse languages. Because so much of the language on the site comes in the form of user-generated, peer-to-peer interaction, it is authentic language in use in a way that so much other language learning material is not.

Course books and other teaching materials used in classrooms in Thailand are often decontextualized and structured around discourse that is either inauthentic, or not culturally relevant to Thai learners. Authentic texts are materials not designed specifically for language learning purposes (Jordan, 1997). Opportunities to engage with authentic materials are important because they can help teachers and learners to replicate real-world experiences with language. On FB, teachers and learners can see clearly how the language is being used in real-world interactions and authentic contexts. Quality language instruction needs to be grounded, at least in part, in how language is actually being used, because authentic language use shapes the real world needs of learners. For example, Kramsch (1993) talks about the value of authentic spoken exchanges in that they “require participants to respond with behaviors that are socially appropriate to the setting” (p. 178). Students studying in EFL contexts may struggle to develop these skills. However, participation on sites like FB gives students the opportunity to interact in diverse contexts and practice a range of sociolinguistic skills.

Also, the present study has shown evidence of varying levels of SNS participation at both the global and local ends of the continuum. If students are to become full and active participants in a globalized, 21st century society, they need the plurilingual language skills as well as the confidence and competence to network socially with peers. Language learners need to be able to navigate the complex socio-linguistic spaces of online social networks just as much as they need to learn to give academic presentations or write business letters. Unfortunately, this area of language pedagogy is mostly being neglected. How many language schools or university ESL/EFL programs are offering courses in language use for social media? And yet, how much time are students realistically spending on these sites? There is a disconnect here, another example of research and pedagogy lagging behind real world language usage and genuine

linguistic needs, particularly in developing countries like Thailand. One of the primary educational implications to think about from this study is the need for teachers and researchers to begin closing this gap between instruction and authentic language use.

A final educational implication drawn from this research relates to the nature of language itself, specifically the plurilingual competence that is presupposed for students and teachers to function within this discourse context. The Common European Framework for language education has highlighted the need for teachers and curriculum designers to move beyond discretely focusing on individual languages, and to look more toward an integrated notion of linguistic competence across languages. Data from the present study clearly suggests that this is in fact precisely how participants are making use of language within the context of FB. Rarely do they write exclusively in one language or another, but instead they mix and match orthographies, lexical items and even syntactic features to meet their specific needs. As the forces of globalization continue to push languages and cultures into greater contact with one another, it is likely that this trend toward plurilingualism will continue. It makes sense for educators to continue to raise their awareness about authentic language use in all contexts, including sites like FB.

Research Implications

In terms of research, one of the primary implications is the need for a broader and more fully realized analysis of language use in social media and on sites like FB. The present study has provided a narrow and very specific window into the plurilingual patterns of language use for a focal group of Thai high school students and teachers. This data set needs to be expanded significantly to include participants in other locations, with different first languages, and at

different ages. The patterns of language seen in this study are intriguing, but much work remains to be done to determine whether the language use seen by these Thai participants is part of a larger trend or an isolated occurrence.

Because FB participation is an inherently social process, researchers need to think carefully about optimal methods for data collection to look at this process. Data from the present study primarily came from participant questionnaires, individual and small group interviews, as well FB discourse data. Other possibilities do exist, and another potential research implication will be to look at alternative data collection methods. For example, although group interviews did feature in this study, focal groups could also be explored as an alternative data collection technique that would align with the social and interactive nature of the site. Highlighting focal groups as a central data collection tool might have provided the opportunity to observe dynamic social interactions in larger groups. Focal groups generally are designed for the participation of between six and 12 individuals, and allow specifically for the “systematic variation across groups” (Mertens, 2010, p. 240) as a core component of their design. It would be possible for example, to deliberately vary focal group participation by gender, age, L2 proficiency, or average FB participation time. Such variation would allow the researcher to consider the extent to which these types of variables may or may not be impacting students’ reported use of FB.

Also, the site itself could be exploited as a platform for participant interviews. FB, as well as many other sites like it, now supports video chat. Individual or small group interviews could be conducted via video-chat. Using video chat in this way would potentially grant greater researcher access and capitalize on the pre-existing affordances of conducting research in a socially networked environment. One of the fundamental characteristics of 21st century social networks is their ubiquity. Because of the nature of the technology, users are able to access sites

across diverse platforms at most any time of day or night. The “always on” nature of participation has potential advantages for researchers. For example, the specific scheduling of interview times is often a challenge in conducting research. Video chat interviews would allow for the data collection to be done more easily from home, on weekends, or in the evenings. Conducting interviews about FB or SNS participation through video chat might allow interviewees to interact in a context in which they are comfortable and confident, and interviewees might be more willing to share information in this context. Also, when the data collection platform and the digital context for the study are one and the same, discussions of online content could be facilitated. For example, researchers could easily refer to specific discourse samples for discussion, and both the interviewee and the researcher could simultaneously have the data on the screen in front of them.

In addition, video-chat interviews would give researchers a way to observe the digital literacy skills of participants. They could, for example, observe the speed and fluency with which participants move through the interactions, ultimately giving researchers greater information on the social, linguistic, and digital skill-sets of participants. In my own research for example, I did not attempt to gather specific data on participants’ digital literacy skills. A research design that foregrounded an analysis of these types of skills might shed light on digital literacy skills as mediating variables in the development of plurilingual competence.

From a methodological standpoint, researchers need to begin to consider ways of gaining a greater emic perspective in terms of online participation. In this study I friended students on FB and collected discourse data from within that space, but I did so as an outside observer. I was not actively engaged with the participants on FB, and I was not revealing myself to them online in any meaningful way. One of the findings from this study suggests that there is potential value in

teacher self-disclosure in their interactions with students. It is possible that researchers could productively explore this notion as well. Alternative research techniques exist that would involve a higher level of researcher participation within the discourse community. For example, action research could allow teachers to simultaneously teach students and be engaged with them on sites like FB. In action research, teachers examine their own practice in systematic ways and look for opportunities for growth or change. Noffke and Somekh (2011) noted that one of the key advantages of action research is that it is research conducted from the point of view of an insider to a given context. Teachers know their students and can potentially find ways to engage with them that would be unavailable to outside researchers. When thinking about FB as a pedagogic tool for example, the interpersonal relationships between teachers and students are important. These types of relationships are a potential area of action research for teachers, and have yet to be studied in any detail.

Another way for researchers to frame and analyze social networking site participation is through a distinction between active and passive participation on the part of the users. There are a number of potential ways to define “active” and “passive” use of social media. Because sites like FB often send notifications of activity, passive use could be defined as keeping applications open in the background that notify you when updates take place. Active use of the site on the other hand, would be the time spent actually on the site itself, either reading, writing, or uploading content. Clear differences might exist in terms of heavy active versus passive users of the site. If a study were to make a distinction between active and passive users of social media, it might then be possible to look at how else their patterns of participation differentiate from one another. The present study found, for example, that there were differences in plurilingual competence between participants, and that these differences afforded varying levels of

participation in both global and local events on FB. With a greater knowledge of active and passive use of the site, this study could have considered the extent to which active versus passive usage patterns contributed to the likelihood of participation in the various events.

Similarly, future researchers may wish to explore differences in productive and receptive language use. Writing and reading on FB are examples of productive and receptive language skills respectively. If active and passive use of social media are understood in terms of their engagement with the technology, then productive and receptive use of language may be another way to frame user participation. Analysis of productive and receptive language could include a greater and more detailed look at time spent reading and reviewing the site, versus time spent actively engaged in language production. By clearly differentiating reading and writing on the site, researchers may be able to break down the extent to which participation on the site facilitates certain aspects of second language development.

Another direction for future research is the need to look at social networking sites other than FB. The present study examined participants' use of FB, but this site is only one of many places where people across the world are writing and sharing online. Researchers also need to spend time looking at authentic discourse in use on a range of sites in order to begin to get a larger picture of how languages are being shaped and reshaped in online contexts. By only looking at one social networking site, for example, it is difficult to gain a clear understanding of the extent to which online contexts such as FB shape the nature of the discourse. More studies that specifically examine the discourses of different SNSs are needed if we are to better understand the role that these sites play in shaping the discourse itself. This is particularly true because the diverse range of online social networks available today are becoming increasingly fragmented and genre-specific. Social networks exist for specific interest groups, as well as for

interactions with people from different segments of one's life. For example, LinkedIn is currently a popular social network for sharing business and professional information and for interacting with other professionals in your field. The important point for researchers to consider is that the differing social, cultural, and linguistic contexts of these sites all need to be explored independently in order to gain a fuller and more complete picture of language use across and within each of them.

Limitations

Findings drawn from this study are limited in several ways. Firstly, it needs to be understood that this study is bound by site and context. Findings are not meant to generalize to other contexts. I have endeavored throughout the study to sufficiently describe the research context and participants so as to allow readers to make their own judgments about the transferability of the findings, however all the information presented in this study is specific to a particular research context.

Another potential limitation of the study relates to the use of self-reported questionnaire data for items where participants seem to have the potential, either intentionally or not, to misrepresent themselves. High schools are sites of enormous peer pressure, and collecting data on a site as popular as FB has potential complications when it comes to self-reporting time spent online. My approach throughout the study has been to try and treat the potential for over-reporting as a finding in and of itself, and to probe the issue through participant interviews and further data analysis. This approach does not resolve the issue entirely, but it does offer readers as much transparency as possible.

This study also relied heavily on translation work. Working in translation is both an asset and a potential limitation. On the positive side, it allows non-native speakers of English to express themselves with maximum clarity and depth; they are not limited by the filter of speaking in a second language. The vast majority of my student participants spoke English at the level of true beginners, so most all data collection had to be done in Thai. This put a heavy burden on my wife as my translator for the study, but also brought in one more variable to the data analysis process, and increased the possibility of minor translation errors creeping in and influencing results. However, my wife is a skilled and well-trained translator, and I was grateful for her help along the way. Also, the study would have been impossible without conducting the data analysis in Thai as we did, so, while translations may have brought minor inconsistencies into the data in places, the study could not have been conducted so effectively in any other way.

It is also important to consider the type of data I was given access to on FB. On the site, users can instant message one another in private chats. Many students messaged one another in this way and I had no access to these chats and no way to characterize that component of their FB usage. In a study designed to look at FB usage and how the site functions in the lives of participants, this lack of instant messaging and private email data is also a limitation.

Anecdotally, through my own observations and brief discussions with students and teachers, I have the sense that most instant messaging done on mobile devices was conducted through applications independent of FB, but, because FB instant messaging data is private, I have no way to verify usage pattern for participants.

Finally, the study struggled to clearly define what it meant to be “on” FB or “using” FB. When looking at the self-reported data related to time spent on FB, it is clear that participants were using a variety of ways to define their participation. This is clear from the data ranges,

where we can see participants reporting everything from zero to 1440 minutes per day on the site. For future research into site participation of any kind, it may be helpful to ask for differentiation between time spent actively reading on the site, time spent writing on the site, or passive time with FB simply open in the background.

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Appendix A

List of Research Studies

Table A1

List of Research Studies

	Author(s)	Date	Title	Source	Methods
A. Empirical studies of language learning on SNSs other than FB					
1	Harrison & Thomas	2009	Identity in online communities: Social Networking Sites and language learning	International Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society	QUAL
2	Stevenson & Liu	2010	Learning a language with Web 2.0: Exploring the use of social networking features of foreign language learning websites	CALICO Journal	QUAL QUANT
B. Empirical studies of FB not specific to language learning					
1	Gross & Acquisti	2005	Information revelation and privacy in online social networks (the Facebook case)	Privacy in the Electronic Society (WPES)	QUANT
2	Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds	2007	I'll see you on "Facebook": The effect of computer mediated teacher self-disclosure on student motivation, affective learning, and classroom climate	Communication Education	QUANT + qual
3	Mazer, Murphy, & Simmonds	2009	The effects of teacher self-disclosure via Facebook on teacher credibility	Learning, Media and Technology	QUANT
4	Tong et al	2008	Too much of a good thing? The relationship between number of friends and interpersonal impressions on Facebook	Journal of Computer Mediated Communication	QUANT

(table continues)

Table A1 (continued)

	Author(s)	Date	Title	Source	Methods
C. Empirical studies of language learning on FB					
1	Blattner & Lomicka	2012	Facebook-ing and the Social Generation: A new era of language learning	ALSIC	QUAL
2	Blattner & Fiori	2011	Virtual social network communities: An investigation of language learners' development of sociopragmatic awareness and multiliteracy skills.	CALICO Journal	QUAL + quant
3	Mills	2011	Situated learning through social networking communities: The development of joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and shared repertoire	CALICO Journal	QUAL
4	Reinhardt & Zander	2011	Social networking in an intensive English program classroom: A language socialization perspective	CALICO Journal	QUAL AND QUANT
5	Mitchell	2012	A social tool: Why and how ESOL students use FB	CALICO Journal	

Appendix B

Results of Pilot Questionnaire

1. Do you use Facebook?

☐ Yes **37** ☐ No **1**

2. How do you access Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

☐ Your computer **24** ☐ Your phone **23**

☐ Friend's computer **1**

3. How much time do you spend on Facebook each day

☐ Less than 10 min **6** ☐ 10-60 min **5**

☐ 1-2 hours **10** ☐ 2+ hours **16**

4. Who are your Facebook friends (check each box that applies)

☐ Students at school **28** ☐ Teachers at school **13**

☐ Family **16** ☐ Friends not at school **23**

☐ Other **15**

5. What languages do you READ on Facebook (check each box that applies)

☐ English **26** ☐ Thai **36** ☐ Chinese **0**

☐ Japanese **5** ☐ French **0** ☐ German **0**

6. What languages do you WRITE on Facebook (check each box that applies)

☐ English **21** ☐ Thai **37** ☐ Chinese **1**

☐ Japanese **5** ☐ French **0** ☐ German **0**

Appendix C

Summary of Thai Grade Level System

Table C1

Summary of Thai Grade Level System

U.S. Grade level	Thai equivalent	English requirements (per week)
1	Prathom 1	2 hours (General skills)
2	Prathom 2	2 hours (General skills)
3	Prathom 3	2 hours (General skills)
4	Prathom 4	2 hours (General skills)
5	Prathom 5	2 hours (General skills)
6	Prathom 6	2 hours (General skills)
7	Mathayom 1	3 hours (General Skills)
8	Mathayom 2	3 hours (General Skills)
9	Mathayom 3	3 hours (General Skills)
10	Mathayom 4*	4 hours (2 listening/speaking, 2 hours general skills)
11	Mathayom 5	4 hours (2 hours listening/speaking, 2 hours general skills)
12	Mathayom 6	4 hours (2 hours reading/writing, 2 hours general skills)

Appendix D

Student Participants

Table D1

Student Participants

FB name	Abbreviation	Gender	Age	Interviewed
Pook Pick	Pook	F	16	
Noo Fah	Noo	F	15	
Look-Pla mi	Look-pla	F	15	Yes
Anime	Anime	M	16	
Mikkey Byby	Mikkey	F	16	
Bam Cha-am	Bam	F	16	
Fah Cha-am	Fah	F	16	
MC Blur Class	MC Blur	M	15	Yes
Mini Fiftyz	Mini	F	15	Yes
TNB RQ Forever	TNB RQ	M	15	
Thom As Heart	Thom	F	15	Yes
Z'Spice Happy	Z'Spice	F	15	
Boring' Plaa EMO	Boring'	F	16	
Clap Hello	Clap	F	16	Yes
Berry Aha Aha	Berry	F	16	Yes
Chai' Na Fa	Chai'	M	16	
Bom Family Head	Bom	M	16	Yes
Fon Fonnies	Fon	F	15	
Akiko Ayamiii	Akiko	F	16	
Double' Iced	Double'	F	16	Yes
Arm SmallPuppy	Arm	F	16	
Friendly bell'az	Friendly	F	16	

Appendix E

Final Version of Facebook Questionnaire

What is your name? _____

What is your mathayom number? _____

How old are you? _____

How many family members live in your home _____

Which district are you from? _____

Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female

1. Which of these do you have in your home? (Check each box that applies)

- | | | |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> TV (local) | <input type="checkbox"/> Radio | <input type="checkbox"/> Desktop computer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Laptop computer | <input type="checkbox"/> TV (Satellite) | <input type="checkbox"/> Tablet computer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Smartphone | | |

2. Do you use Facebook?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No (if “No” = you are finished)

3. How do you access Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Your computer | <input type="checkbox"/> Your phone | <input type="checkbox"/> Tablet computer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s computer | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s phone | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s tablet |

4. How many minutes do you spend on Facebook each day?

_____ minutes/each weekend day _____ minutes/each weekday day

5. How many friends do you have on Facebook?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 50-100 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 100-300 | <input type="checkbox"/> 300+ |

6. Who are your Facebook friends? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Students at school | <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers at school |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Family | <input type="checkbox"/> Friends not at school |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ | |

7. What languages do you READ on Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> French | <input type="checkbox"/> German |

8. What languages do you WRITE on Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------|--------|--------------------------|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | English | <input type="checkbox"/> | Thai | <input type="checkbox"/> | Chinese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> | French | <input type="checkbox"/> | German |

Appendix F

Round 1 Student Interview Protocol

1. Introduction and Facebook history

- How long have you been on Facebook?
- Where did you first hear about Facebook?
- How did you learn to use Facebook?
- Why did you start using Facebook?
- Do you use any other social networking sites? If so, which ones?

2. Facebook use

- How do you usually access Facebook? Is it through your home computer, your phone . . . ?
- How much time do you spend on Facebook in an average day?
- What do you like and not like about using Facebook?
- How do your parents feel about you using Facebook?
- Tell me about your Facebook friends?
- Are you friends with any of your teachers on Facebook?
- Are your Facebook friends different from you face-to-face friends? How?
- Do you think you spend too much, too little, or just enough time on Facebook? Why?
- What is your favorite feature of Facebook, status updates, comments, sharing photos, or sharing links to information?
- Why do you think Facebook is so popular with young people?

3. Facebook and English

- What languages do you use on Facebook other than Thai?
- Why do you use languages other than Thai on Facebook?

Appendix G

Round 1 Teacher Interview Protocol

1. Introduction and Facebook history

- How long have you been on Facebook?
- Where did you first hear about Facebook?
- How did you learn to use Facebook?
- Why did you start using Facebook?
- Do you use any other social networking sites? If so, which ones?

2. Facebook use

- How do you usually access Facebook? Is it through your home computer, your phone . . . ?
- How much time do you spend on Facebook in an average day?
- What do you like and not like about using Facebook?
- Tell me about your Facebook friends?
- Are you friends with any of your students on Facebook?
- Are your Facebook friends different from you face-to-face friends? How?
- Do you think you spend too much, too little, or just enough time on Facebook? Why?
- What is your favorite feature of Facebook, status updates, comments, sharing photos, or sharing links to information?
- Why do you think Facebook is so popular with young people?

3. Facebook and English

- What languages do you use on Facebook other than Thai?
- Why do you use languages other than Thai on Facebook?

4. Facebook and teaching

- Do you use Facebook for teaching language? How?
- Do you think FB can be a good tool for teaching and learning language?
- What tools on FB do you think are most useful for teaching and learning language?

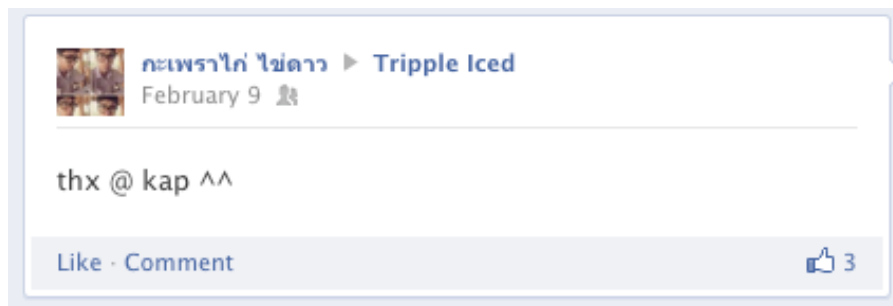
Appendix H

Sample Transcript From Cognitive Interview

Interviewer:	So the question says “How many friends do you have on FB?” How would you answer that?
Participant 1:	I know this. I have like about 700 friends on FB.
Interviewer:	700? Wow, that’s a lot! But how do you know how many friends you have?
Participant 1:	It is there on your screen when you click on “friends” FB tells you how many you have.
Interviewer:	Are friends the same as people you are “following” on FB?
Participant 1:	No “following” is different.
Interviewer:	Like how?
Participant:	Friends are only people that accept your request. You have to ask them to be friends and then they say yes and then they are in your friend list.

Appendix I

Sample of Round 2 Student Interview



Interviewer: So what does this mean exactly?

Tripple Iced: My friend was saying “thank you” to me for helping him.

Interviewer: Can you explain what the different parts mean? Like “thx” and “@”?

Tripple Iced: The “thx” is just short English for “thank you” and the “@” I guess is just for fun, like people use on the internet. “Kap” is Thai of course because he is a boy and the marks at the end are like a happy face sign for fun.

Interviewer: You’re both Thai, wouldn’t it be easier to just write “thanks” in Thai?

Tripple Iced: That would be boring! Look how much fun this is. It has lots of stuff to read and it’s funny to look at . . .

Appendix J

Coding Sample of Interview With Teacher Bee

AH: OK, good. Uh, you have over 1000 friends on FB, who are they?

Bee: Together my students, colleagues, and friends in university and high school.

AH: OK, so which one most?

Bee: Mostly students . . .

AH: Mathayom 2 or 3 or 4 . . . ?

Bee: Mostly mathayom 2.

AH: Why did you pick that grade level?

Bee: Because I tell them I have FB, you can add me and I have the group I make for mathayom 2 and I add the students for my group.

AH: What do you do with this group? How does it help you?

Bee: When I have an assignment I [give] the assignment on FB and I tell about the score, I upload and I give all the assignment for them on FB.

AH: Are they happy to use FB like this?

Bee: Yes, happy! They write it and when I upload FB assignments the students press “like.”

AH: Really! They “like” the assignments?

*Codes

Friend types

Friending students

FB for teaching

Student Perceptions

Appendix K

Results of Questionnaire

1. Which of these do you have in your home? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> TV (local) 207 | <input type="checkbox"/> Radio 211 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Desktop computer 148 | <input type="checkbox"/> Laptop computer 96 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TV (Satellite) 123 | <input type="checkbox"/> Tablet computer 46 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Smartphone 164 | |

2. Do you use Facebook?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 212 | <input type="checkbox"/> No (if “No” = you are finished) 5 |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|

3. How do you access Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Your computer 182 | <input type="checkbox"/> Your phone 161 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Your tablet 37 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s computer 36 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s phone 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s tablet 22 |

4. How many minutes do you spend on Facebook each day?

_____ minutes/each weekend day **232** minutes (mean)

_____ minutes/each weekday day **114** minutes (mean)

5. How many friends do you have on Facebook?

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 50 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 50-100 15 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 100-300 26 | <input type="checkbox"/> 300+ 165 |

6. Who are your Facebook friends? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Students at school 208 | <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers at school 126 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Family 135 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friends not at school 176 |

7. What languages do you READ on Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English 192 | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai 209 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese 18 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> French 13 | <input type="checkbox"/> German 10 |

8. What languages do you WRITE on Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English 168 | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai 210 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese 18 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> French 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> German 9 |

Appendix L

Expanded Sample of Facebook Discourse Data

Discourse Sample	Assigned Codes	Explanation
เด็กๆ ม.6 พ่วงนี้พบบันที่ห้อง sound lab นะ ตามรายชื่อที่อ้อมโพสต์ไว้ ช้าสุด 9.00 น.จ้า	Mostly Thai Teaching Dual orthography Teacher Graduation event	Teacher announcing the time and place of a re-exam for graduating students
该从哪里开始收拾? ? ? T.T 看到这一大堆就头痛 Where to start packing? This is a headache!	Bilingual Chinese Emoticons Teacher Leaving event	Chinese teacher about her preparations for leaving and how to pack everything
hpbd((:	All English Emoticons Abbreviations Birthday event	Happy birthday announcement from student
FUCKน่าแลน 55555 ><	Profanity Bilingual Emoticons	
It's love that hurt...But it's hurt that tells you're still alive. ความรักมันทำให้เจ็บ...แต่ความเจ็บปวดคือ สิ่งที่บอกว่าเรายังมีชีวิตอยู่ :)	Songs Bilingual Translation	A student posint English song lyrics and translating them into Thai
อยากเต้น Harlem Shake !! 55555	Bilingual Harlem Sh event	A group of students made a Harlem Shake video and shared it
"Love cannot be defined, because to define is to limit. And love is without limits."	All English Quote	A student sharing an English quote
Thx na ka ><'	All English Emoticons Abbreviations	A student saying "thank you" in English but with Thai politeness markers and emoticons
Smile ^++++^	All English Emoticons	Interesting emoticon usage
我也爱你们啊! ! 很爱na~~	Chinese Emoticons Leaving event	A Thai student writing in Chinese and saying she loves her teacher who is leaving. Thai politeness marker written in Latin script

Appendix M

Results of Questionnaire

1. Which of these do you have in your home? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> TV (local) 207 | <input type="checkbox"/> Radio 211 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Desktop computer 148 | <input type="checkbox"/> Laptop computer 96 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TV (Satellite) 123 | <input type="checkbox"/> Tablet computer 46 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Smartphone 164 | |

2. Do you use Facebook?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 212 | <input type="checkbox"/> No (if “No” = you are finished) 5 |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|

3. How do you access Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Your computer 182 | <input type="checkbox"/> Your phone 161 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Your tablet 37 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s computer 36 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s phone 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend’s tablet 22 |

4. How many minutes do you spend on Facebook each day?

_____ minutes/each weekend day **232** minutes (mean)

_____ minutes/each weekday day **114** minutes (mean)

5. How many friends do you have on Facebook?

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 50 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 50-100 15 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 100-300 26 | <input type="checkbox"/> 300+ 165 |

6. Who are your Facebook friends? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Students at school 208 | <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers at school 126 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Family 135 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friends not at school 176 |

7. What languages do you READ on Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English 192 | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai 209 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese 18 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> French 13 | <input type="checkbox"/> German 10 |

8. What languages do you WRITE on Facebook? (Check each box that applies)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English 168 | <input type="checkbox"/> Thai 210 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese 18 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> French 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> German 9 |